

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

905

~~REMOVED~~

J.A.H.R.S.

V.I

The Andhra Historical Research Society Rajahmundry

Vol. I, Part 2. Oct. 1926. : Reprint : Rs. 2 each.

Editor :

SRI R SUBBA RAO, M A , L T., M.E.S. (RETD)

—

CONTENTS

	Pages.
King Nanyadeva on Music.	55—63
Influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit on Telugu.	64—69
Kolavennu Plates of the Kakati King Ganapatideva.	70—80
The Gurindagunta Stone Inscription.	81—85
A Note on the Ipuru Plates of Vishnuvarddhana III.	86—91
Peda-Vegi Copper-plates of Nandivarman II.	92—105

—

**Printed by C. Nagaraju, B.A., at the Razan Electric Press,
Rajahmundry, E.G. 31, Copies 250 / 31—3—'48.**

**Published by Sri R. Subba Rao, Secretary, A. H. R. Society
at 4/90 and 91, Rajahmundry. (P. Con. A. 661/47, D/ 31-3-47)**

CONTENTS.

The names of contributors and their articles.

	Pages.
1. <i>R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.</i>	
A note on the illustration on the Cover.	103—105
2. <i>G. V. Seetapati, B. A., L. T.</i>	
The Korni Copper plate grants of } Anantavarma Chodaganga. }	106—124
3. <i>Mimamsakacharya S. K. Ramanatha Sastriar.</i>	
Bhavabhuti and His Identity.	125—129
4. <i>Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A.</i>	
Who were the Sulikas ?	130—131
5. <i>R. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar, M. A.</i>	
Ancient South Indian Gold Coinage.	132—136
6. <i>R. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar, M. A.</i>	
Coins of Kavaliyadavalli Treasure Trove.	137—143
7. <i>V. Subramanyam, M. A., L. T.</i>	
Date of Tenkanaditya.	144—148
8. <i>R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.</i>	
Scope of Anthropological Research in the } Agency Part II Chenchus. }	149—154
9. <i>M. Rama Krishna Kavi, M. A.</i>	
Tapasavatsaraja.	155—166
10. Reviews	167—171
11. Select Contents from Oriental Journals	

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I—VI

1. Proceedings of the Council Meetings.
2. List of Subscriptions and Donations received.
3. List of Exchanges.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLES.

1. *V. Apparao, B. A., B. L.*
Rajahmundry Museum Plates of Anna Deva Chola. 172—189
2. *R. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar, M. A.*
Old Chola Coins. 190—192
Old Maratha Coins. 192—194
4. *K. R. Subrahmanyam, M. A.*
Kalingam and Tamilakam. 195—202
5. *C. Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu.*
Kulottunga and his Times. 203—219
6. *C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L.*
The Affinity between Telugu and Tamil. 220—227
7. *G. Ramadas B. A., M. R. A. S.*
Vyaghradeva of the Vakataka Inscription of Ganj. 228—231
8. Reviews. 232—235
9. Sixth Annual Report of the Society. 236—238

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

1. Proceedings of the Council and the Society.
2. Notes of Public Meetings.

THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. 1

JULY, 1926

PART 1

EDITORIAL.

The necessity for the foundation of a Research Society for Andhradesa was keenly felt for several years by a few devoted students of history in Rajahmundry and elsewhere. The vast and rich field that was available for investigation and research, and perhaps the little attention paid by the Government Archæological Department to the materials found in the Province, were the causes that primarily led to the conviction that a Research Society might at once be started in order to promote historical research and to bring about co-ordination amongst the various scholars working separately and independently all over the province, and to provide for better facilities for them. The conviction grew stronger and stronger as years rolled by, till at last about the middle of 1921, it took a tangible shape in the formation of the present Society. People here and outside there were, who maintained that a Research Society might be too premature for this province, but the earnestness and devotion of the founders, soon dispelled the hesitation and fears in their minds. The existence of the Mythic Society of Bangalore for Mysore and Karnataka, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for the newly created province of Behar and Orissa, also prompted us to bring our Society into existence.

Our Province is exceedingly rich in pre-historic antiquities. Stone and copper implements, have been found in abundance in Cuddapah, Kurnool and elsewhere. Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Guntapalli, Gudivada, Bezvada, and Srisailam or Sriparvata of Yuwan Tsang, which are rich treasure houses of Buddhist relics on the one hand, Mukhalingam, Sarvasiddhi, Pithapuram (Pishtapura). Rajahmundry, Vengipura, Addanki, Kondavidu, Warangal. Nellore (Vikramasimhapura) and Hampi—Vijayanagara. which are ancient cities and seats of powerful kingdoms, culture and art on the other, are still attracting students of history of this country. It is admitted on all hands that next to Magadha stands Andhradesa, in the matter of its contribution to the growth and development of the twin religions of ancient India, Buddhism and Jainism. These two religions captured the heart of Andhradesa, more than any other province, and for several centuries in the past were popular all over the country ; and the several monuments and relics that lie scattered everywhere in every ancient site be-speak to the fact. Andhradesa contributed no less also to the development and growth of maritime activity and the greater Bharatavarsha. Kottapattana in Nellore District, Motupalli (Maisolia of the Greeks) in Guntur, Kuduru and Ghantasala (Koddura and Kontokyssila of Ptolemy) in Kistna, Dantapura and Kalingapattana to the north of the Godavari, --ancient ports and emporiums of trade and commerce now lying deserted and in ruins, invite the enthusiastic archæologist to excavate and to lay bare their rich hidden treasures. The wonderful temples at Sri-Kurmam. Simhachalam, Daksharama, Bhimavaram. Srisailam, Ahobalam and elsewhere, too numerous to mention, with innumerable inscriptions transcribed on their walls, *Mantapas* and carved pillars, still remain untouched and pathetically invite the loving labours of generations of enthusiastic scholars. This country was also once rich in manuscripts. There lived enlightened noblemen who maintained libraries at their cost and to whose courts flocked learned *pandits* and poets, and scholars learned in various *Sastras*, who for their own use, also gathered and preserved large collections of rare and valuable books. This country has suffered much on account of exploitation by persons from outside who carried away a large number of these hidden treasures. Even now the field is very large and it is necessary to organise a systematic survey and carry out a thorough search for manuscripts, to save them from the ravages of time, destruction and decay, due to negligence.

It is this abundance of historical material, and the peculiar advantages the scholars of this part of the country command that have

inspired us to take up this labour of love. Our Society and the Journal may be called a venture but yet we are confident that the sympathy and guidance of other learned Societies will be with us. For the success of our attempts we require a constant supply of trained and devoted scholars and workers and the necessary financial help from both the public and private sources. We are hopeful that we will not be neglected by the keepers of the public purse, and enlightened noblemen in our country. Though in the past facilities were comparatively fewer, we have today better opportunities. We are fortunate to have a University of our own : God willing we hope to work in conjunction with it. We also hope the University will develop post-graduate study and research, and make it the training ground for the younger generation who will ere long join us and lead the torch-light of knowledge. May we earnestly hope, that the Society, started with such an ambitious programme will receive the blessings from the All-Merciful, patronage, sympathy and support from our enlightend Government and our generous minded Countrymen.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

The abundance of historical material and a large field for research work prompted us nearly five years ago, to found this Society and begin organised work. The Society owes its inception and existence to the inspiring work and guidance of Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao, the premier Historian of Andhra Desa, whose book was published in 1908, and from which many a learned scholar has drawn material help for the construction of an otherwise difficult and still unexplored history of the Andhras, Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao and Mr. C. Narayana Rao.

During the first year, the members of the Society met occasionally and discussed many important subjects. The President Mr. C. Narayana Rao, during that year and for sometime prior to it, collected a large number of copper plate inscriptions belonging to the Eastern Ganga Dynasty of Kalinganagara, and Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, toured in the Godavari, and Krishna Districts and prepared inked estampages of several stone inscriptions in many important places, which are still unnoticed by the Government Epigraphical Department. Some original papers were read before the Society during that year, and notable amongst them were, "An

Account of the Present Day Kalingas" by Mr. C. Narayana Rao, and "Some aspects of the system of Government of Kakatiyas of Warangal (Orugallu) by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao prepared a monograph on the "Maritime Activity of the Andhras from the Earliest Times," which was afterwards issued in the form of a book.

About the middle of the year 1922, the Society conceived the idea of celebrating the Ninth Centenary Day of King Rajarajanarendra Vishnuvardhana of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Rajamahendravaram. The idea was inspired by Mr. I Kanakachalam Pantulu, M. A., Headmaster, Rajah's College, Parlakimedi, when it struck him that the king ascended the throne in the month of Bhadrapada, nine hundred years ago in this ancient city. King Rajaraja was a great patron of Telugu literature. In his court lived many great poets famous among them being Nannaya Bhatta, the author of the *Mahabharata*—the only known extant Telugu Kavya of the early period, Narayana Bhatta and Pavuluri Mallanna. The popularity of the *Mahabharata* and King Rajaraja's fame as the patron of the first extant literary composition, readily caught the imagination of the Andhras. The celebration of the Ninth Centenary Day was sought to be synchronised with the publication of a Commemoration Volume in Telugu, incorporating all the available historical material bearing on the social, religious and political conditions, and the literature of the Eastern Chalukya period, A. D. 609-1258.

The idea of celebration was soon translated into action, and the Society owes a deep debt of gratitude to the venerable old man of Andhradesa, Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, for his encouragement and support. The Secretary, Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao B. A., B. L., spared no pains in making the celebration of the Centenary day a great success. The Commemoration Volume, "*Sri Rajarajanarendra Pattabhisheka Sanchika*," edited by Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao, is the first publication of its kind. It contains many valuable contributions from several renowned scholars, like Rao Saheb Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar of the Madras University and Hon. Mr. Justice V. Ramesam and Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu.

Another noteworthy event of the celebration was the organisation of a historical Exhibition, which was highly appreciated. The evolution of the Andhra Script or *Andhra Lipi Parinamam*, was the main feature of the exhibition. A large number of inked estampages of stone and copper plate inscriptions dating from centuries before the Christian era, down to the eighteenth century, prepared and collected specially for the occasion, and a number of copperplate inscriptions, were arranged chronologically on the walls of the building.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

Besides several ancient lead and copper coins, weapons of warfare were also in exhibition. The Society feels highly grateful for the deep sympathy evinced by the Government in recognising this institution at that time, and also, in extending to it its generous support. The Society particularly feels grateful to the Hon. Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., Minister of Education, who sympathised whole-heartedly with our movement and sanctioned a Public holiday to all the Schools and Colleges in the City on the day fixed for the celebration of the Centenary Day. The Celebration was presided over by the renowned Andhra Scholar and Educationist, Mr C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

During the third year, the Society's attention was deeply absorbed in organising itself so as to keep it on a permanent and constitutional basis, and enable it to undertake the more arduous task of publishing a Quarterly Journal of Historical Research.

When the fourth year dawned, once more the Society resumed its activities; and several scholars, and research students from all parts of the Province began to join the Society in large numbers. The celebration of the Ninth Centenary Day of Rajarajanarendra's coronation, and the publication of a Commemoration Volume, inspired the imagination of our countrymen, and the result was encouraging support and expression of sympathy from all quarters. While the Society had barely five or six members when it was formed, the number on its rolls rose gradually year after year and at the end of the fourth year, the membership stood at fifty.

The Society held during that year two special meetings. Rao Sahab G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, late of Rajah's College, Paralakimidi, delivered a lecture on "Old Telugu" and Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B. A., B. L., our President on "Methods of Historical Research" to the members of the Society. The lectures were very largely attended by the public and students, and highly appreciated.

During the third and fourth years, the personnel of the Council of the Society came to be changed once or twice. In the fourth year, Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.L. and Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A. were elected as President and Secretary respectively. Mr. Subbarao, is deeply interested in Anthropology and Ethnology. He collected during the year valuable and interesting information regarding the *Koyas* and the *Chenchus*, aboriginal tribes of the Agency tracts of the Godavari District. The results of his investigations were afterwards embodied in a paper, and read before the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras, in December 1924. The Society deputed some of its members

to attend and to read papers before the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras in 1924. Mr. C. Narayana Rao, read a paper, on 'Sanskrit and Prakrit influences on Telugu', Mr. R. Subba Rao, on "The necessity for Anthropological Investigations in the Agency parts of Andhradesa" and Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi on "Two more plays of Bhāsa," and "Nāṇyadeva on Music."

This brief survey of the History of the Society will remain incomplete and imperfect, without mention being made, in grateful terms, to the great patronage and sympathetic support received by it from time to time, from generous hearted persons like the Maharaja of Pithapuram, Ram Ramayamma Rao of Lashminarasapuram, Raja Visvasundararao of Vegayammampeta, Raja Venkatramayya Apparao of Mirzapuram, Raja Venkatadri Appa Rao of Vuyyuru and a number of others, as well as from the Government of Madras, Director of Public Instruction, several District and Local Boards, Municipalities and District Educational Officers.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L. (*Lecture Delivered on 30-8-25*)

Historical research is the search for the facts of history. It is the purpose of this address to indicate briefly how that search should be conducted. I do not presume to be able to say anything fresh on this ancient theme, which has been dealt with by great scholars from time to time, but what I am going to state may be taken as the result of my own experience and reflection in regard to historical research in India, and Southern India, in particular.

We have no ready-made Histories such as, for instance, the English have. We have fairly well written political histories of the British period on the administration of this country and also histories perhaps less well written of the Mohammedan period though even here the Hindu point of view has yet to be adequately stated. But we have no regular histories of the pre-Mohammedan period and

the efforts of most of the scholars at present engaged in historical research in this country are directed and very properly directed towards the elucidation and reconstruction of this part of the history of India.

My idea of history is, however, a book written somewhat on the lines of Boswell's Life of Johnson. It must be primarily a narrative of events stated correctly and in proper sequence. That forms the basis for comments which are after all the individual opinions of the author. Different persons may draw different inferences from the same set of facts. While there can be no objection to their doing so, one must insist on the facts being stated with absolute accuracy and in their proper order. This is by no means an easy thing to do. In daily life, we see people mixing up facts and their inferences in regard to them, sometimes without knowing it

I propose to indicate briefly what classes of materials there are for the reconstruction of the ancient history of this ancient land, and how each of those classes should be handled. In the fore-front of these classes must be placed the literatures of the country—especially the Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit is not altogether devoid of historical books, *vide* for instance, Kalhana's Rajatarangini but what I value most is the general Sanskrit literature from the *Vedas* down to the *Kavyas*. Macaulay dismissed the whole of this literature as puerile and childish, but Oriental Scholars have since come to a different conclusion. Whatever view may be taken of its value in other respects, there can be no doubt of its value for historical purposes and Macaulay himself would not have denied it. We have first the *Vedas*—the *Samhita* and the *Brahmanas*—then the early *Vedangas*, then the *Sutras*, the *Smritis*, the *Puranas* and the *Kavyas*. They form a rich mine of historical information if only we could find the ore and separate the metal from the stone. In order to correctly understand the meanings of these ancient writings, it is most necessary that you should approach them in a state of mind which is attuned to them. You must first try to enter into the spirit of the times in which the author lived and then to find out his individual mental bearings. Fortified with this qualification, you must try to understand him by the dry light of intellect, taking special care to keep out the influence of your personal bias. It is only then that you can understand an author as he is:—which should be your object to do. The present day English educated research student is at a peculiar disadvantage in regard to this matter. He is apt to approach the subject with a particular set of ideas and outlook on life which he has caught in western literature and this acts as a great handicap on

his capacity to understand an ancient text. He will have to first unlearn these things if he wants to understand correctly. It must not be supposed that the non-English knowing Pundit of the orthodox type is the ideal person to understand the ancient writings. He may be free from the defects of the English education but has got his own. He is apt to interpret the ancient texts too much by the help of the later day commentaries thereon. Great spaces of time must have intervened between the authors and their commentators and although the latter must be taken to have tried their best to understand the former as they were, it is not unnatural to suppose that sometimes they import the ideas of their own times and places—if not also their own predilections into their interpretations. One of the canons of interpretation of the commentators—especially of *Dharmasastras*—seems to be, to treat all writers as if they lived at that same time and are of equal authority. They seem to recognize no chronological or local differences. The Pundit generally relies on these commentators without referring to original authors. He is also generally ignorant of the comparative method of study, which alone can yield a key to correct understanding. The English educated scholar is at an advantage in this respect. The proper equipment for a correct understanding of ancient writings is a combination of the good points of both classes of research workers and it should be the endeavour of all researchers, if I may use that term, to acquire that combination. Where one cannot combine both in oneself, the two classes of workers should consult each other and collaborate. The comparative method of the one and the learning and insight of the other, are both necessary to extract the particles of gold lying hidden in the ore.

Next to Sanskrit literature, come the Vernacular literatures. The Telugu literature which alone we need consider now, abounds in historical material. Telugu literature like all literatures in the past, has flourished under the patronage of kings and their courtiers to whom the books have been almost invariably dedicated and, thanks to the vanity of those gentlemen, the books contain long eulogies of those to whom they are dedicated. These eulogies cannot always be taken at their face value. One has to make a large allowance for hyperbole and even misstatement. Making this allowance, there is usually much information in them, which will be of immense use to the student of history. Our literature is, for obvious reasons, especially rich in information about the Vijayanagara Dynasties and no student of the history of the Vijayanagar Empire can afford to overlook it. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row was engaged in making a collection of all passages in literature bearing on the subject but it does not appear to have been published. The Madras University has recently published

a book compiled on similar lines by the University Professor, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar and entitled "*The Sources of the History of Vijayanagar*" It is not, however, complete May I suggest that this Society should undertake not only the completion of that book but also similar compilations for other Telugu dynasties, the Kakatiya dynasty, for instance If the association cannot find the funds necessary for the publication of the book, the Andhra University which is almost at our threshold now, may be induced to undertake the publication

In this connection,, special reference must be made to the remarkable book named (రామరాజయము లేక నరపతిరాజయము) *Rāmarājyam or Narapatirājyam*) It is mainly an historical book dealing with the history of the last dynasty of the Vijayanagar Empire It is evidently based on older documents and so far as the statements of fact are concerned, it is, in a great measure, corroborated by inscriptions A student of this period of South Indian history cannot afford to overlook it Of a similar nature is the (తొండమన్ పంకావళి) *Tomdamān paṅkāvali*, which has been published in the Journal of the *Andhra Sāhitya Parishat* It is a remarkable little poem in two parts, compiled by the father and son and dealing with the history of the Pudukota chiefs during the period of the Carnatic wars between the French and the English It throws a considerable light on the history of this period and you will find it corroborated in several respects by Orme's history We have got several other anonymous historical accounts dealing with the history of particular places or dynasties Most of these will be found in the collections called "Local Records" in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. We have there, for instance, an account of the Kakatiya kings, an account of the Reddis of Kondavidu, the history of the Naiks of Tanjore and many more similar accounts The most remarkable book of this class which, however, is not in this collection but has been secured in the Tamil country is the (రాయచాళువు) *Rāyavachakamu* It purports to be an account of Krishnadeva Raya's administration I do not think it was compiled during the reign of that great king; but it must have been compiled not very long afterwards It contains very interesting details of the administration of the Vijayanagar Empire during its most prosperous period It is, I think, the source which supplied the material for Kumara Dhūrjati's (కృష్ణరాయవిజయము) *Krishnarāyavijayamu*. This book also has been published in the Journal of the *Andhra Sāhitya Parishat* and I believe the *Parishat* contemplates

republishing critical editions of this and of (తొండమన్ వంశావళి) *Tomdamān vamsāvali* with notes. If the members of this Society undertake to edit these books, I have no doubt the *Parishat* will thankfully accept their services. Another book of this nature which I must mention is (వెలుగోటి వంశావళి) *Velugotivāri vamsāvali* which consists of Telugu verses which were apparently composed by different persons and at different times in eulogy of several Velugoti chiefs. The book has, to my knowledge, not been published. I saw a manuscript copy of it in the Venkatagiri Palace Library some years ago. Some of the verses are incomplete and there are many errors. Every endeavour should, I think, be made to publish this book also.

Akin to these sources, is a large mass of folk-lore in the form of songs and ballads. All these have suffered greatly by passing through hundreds, if not thousands, of illiterate mouths, if I may say so; some have been reduced to writing but in corrupt form. The most important of this class are, the story of the seige of BOBBILI (బొబ్బిలికథ) and the story of the Palnad Heroes (పల్నాటి వీరవంశం). The latter describes the war of succession between two rival claimants to the throne of the Palnad in the Guntur District and is in conception almost an epic. It shows signs of having been modelled after the Mahabharata. Of all the characters delineated in it, two are of outstanding merit viz Bāladu or Bālachandrudu, a prototype of Abhimanyu and the woman Nayakuralu who is a statesman and a soldier rolled into one and whose name is perpetuated in Nāyakurālakanuma, which is the name of a pass connecting Vinukonda and Palnad Taluks. Corrupt as this source of information generally is, it can nevertheless be made to yield results, if patiently and carefully examined,

The next source of historical information which I wish to refer to is Epigraphy. This is by far the most important source for more reasons than one. In the first place, inscriptions are contemporaneous records of the events they deal with, while literary accounts are not always so. Again, books are liable to be manipulated in transcription and probably there is no old book which has not been so tampered with. Inscriptions are, on the other hand, found in the very state in which they came into existence and their evidential value is, therefore very much greater. Last but not least, most of the inscriptions contain dates and thereby import the great advantage of chronological exactness to the conclusions based on them. There are thousands of inscriptions lying about the country awaiting examination. In our own district, we have that veritable store house of inscriptions, the great temple of Bhimēswara

at Dakshārāma. The thanks of students of history are due to the Government Epigraphical Department for having recently published all these inscriptions in a book form*. I commend this book strongly to the members of this Society. They will find there several hundreds of inscriptions ranging over a period of four centuries or more and referring to several dynasties of kings that ruled over the Telugu country. They will find in the book many interesting things besides the names of kings and their dates. They will find, for instance, that Dakshārāma had in olden times a vernacular folk-name Daka-remi † which was perhaps the crude form which subsequently developed into the sanskritised form, Dakshārāma, that the place then abounded in dancing girls whose number was large enough to constitute two societies called the "Big Three Hundred" and the "Little Three Hundred" (పెద్దమన్నూరు and చిన్న మన్నూరు) and that measures were in those days, stamped with the king's seals and were called after the names of the kings whose seals they bore. We have a set of inscriptions in which certain people swear allegiance to the king and insist on the king not forsaking them in favour of another king. It would be interesting to enquire and find out what necessitated this declaration.

Outside our own district, there are many places containing large number of inscriptions. Simhachālam in the Vizagapatam District, Bezwada in the Krishna, Amarāvati, Konidena and Chēbrolu in the Guntur, Srisaṇḍam and Ahobalam in the Kurnool, Ramēswaram and Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah, Nellore in the Nellore, Kalahasti and Tirupati in the Chittore, Tadpatri and Penugonda in the Anantapur and Humpli in the Bellary are only a few of them. The Government Epigraphical Department have collected most of these inscriptions but very few of them have been published. Publication by a single agency necessarily takes time and it would greatly assist and facilitate the work of historical students, if societies like ours undertake to publish thoroughly reliable editions of some of the inscriptions. The societies may divide the work among themselves, each confining itself to particular dynasties or districts. These publications should be on the model of the latest volume of the South Indian Inscriptions Vol. IV. i. e. they need only contain the bare text of the inscriptions without translations. An introductory note may be prefixed to each volume dealing with the main points arising out of inscriptions contained therein. But even

* Not all the inscriptions found in the place have been published; only three hundred have been published so far, Ed.

† The place is also known as Peda-Dakaremi and Dakaremi. Ed.

this is not absolutely necessary. What is most important is that the text of the inscriptions should be thoroughly accurate.

To do this, it is better that the societies have their own collection of inscriptions and I would strongly advise our Society to set about making a collection of its own. A few brushes and dabbers which can be obtained from the contractor who supplies them to the Epigraphical Department and a good supply of printing paper are the materials required for the purpose. You can make the ink yourself from lamp black, from time to time. Supplied with these materials, members may go out, and visit the important places one after another and make estampages of the inscriptions. The estampages can be stored and deciphered at the convenience of the members.

I have, so far, been referring to stone inscriptions. There are also copper-plate inscriptions. These are engraved on copperplates bearing the seal of the king. As a rule, they record grants of villages, or lands to individuals and are of the nature of private documents, while the lithic inscriptions record grants made to temples and are of the nature of public notifications. Copper-plates generally lie buried underground and are found in the course of excavations. Sometimes they are melted and converted into drinking vessels. Persons interested in historical research, must be on the look out for these inscriptions and secure them.

To one who is not already in the field, I may say that the scrutiny of inscriptions will be amply rewarded by the results. I may tell him, for instance, that the examination of a long inscription at Malkapuram in the Guntur District will, besides telling him that Queen Rudrama Devi was the daughter and not the queen, as is often supposed, of the Kakatiya king Ganapati Deva, give a very detailed and interesting account of the system of village economy during the Kakatiya rule. An inscription at Motupalli, also in the Guntur District and of the time of Ganapati Deva, will tell him that there was then a good deal of sea-borne trade between that port and several other ports of Asia and that Ganapati Deva introduced a system of import duties (of which a schedule is given) in supersession of the previous practice of the king taking a portion of the merchandise. An inscription at Kondavidu will give the schedule of *octroi* duties levied on goods entering the city limits during the Vijayanagar rule. More than one inscription will tell him that people of the oil-monger caste (తెలుగులు) enjoyed special privileges during the time of the Chalukyan supremacy owing to the claim they put forth of having helped the

Chalukyas in establishing their power. This seems to have given rise to the idea held by some people of this caste that they were originally Kshatriyas but had lost caste some how subsequently. I have heard that there is a book dealing with the supposed history of these people. This book seems to have been the source of inspiration to an old man of this caste whom I knew in the Cuddapah District. That man sincerely believed that he was a lineal descendant of Sadasiva Raya, the last king of the third Vijayanagar dynasty and was therefore entitled to rule over the whole of Southern India. He would send petitions to Government as Akula Subbanna, of the family of Emperor Sadasiva Raya (రాజాధిరాజ రాజవంశేశ్వర శ్రీవీరతాప సదాశివదేవ మహారాయణ నామ ఆమల సుబ్బన్న) and ask them to put him in possession of the country and pending that, he would ask, as an interim prayer, that he should be immediately put in possession of certain specified villages in the Jammalamadugu Taluk for his maintenance. He was also constantly worried by ryots cutting trees in the fields, since those fields were really his and he would sometimes file criminal complaints against the ryots. He spent a large portion of his small income on postage and court-fee stamps and was living in hope when I left the district twenty years ago.

We have, so far, considered the case of the historical material found in the British portion of the Telugu country. Many a scene in the dramas of Andhra history was played in the country now comprised in the Hyderabad territory and there are ample evidences of those scenes in that country. No book dealing with the history of the Telugu country can be considered complete, which does not consult these evidences. There is now an Archaeological and Epigraphical department in Hyderabad and our Society will do well to put itself in communication with the head of that department and subscribe to the Journal published by him. A student of Andhra history must also provide himself with a set of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* which contains almost all the inscriptions in the Mysore Province.

The next source of historical information consists of coins and archaeological remains such as statues, buildings and mounds. Large numbers of leaden coins of the time of the Andhra dynasty have been found in different parts of the country, but I am not aware that we have many coins of later dynasties. Our own district contains several Jain and Buddhist statues i.e., those at Nedunur, Aryavatam and Pithapuram. We have ancient mounds at Peda-Vegi, Amaravati, Bhattiprolu, Ghantasāla and Jaggayyapeta. These are yet to be

excavated and examined. When that is done, I have no doubt they will yield good results.

We have, I think considered nearly all the sources of history available to us. The work before us is two fold collecting materials and putting them together and writing history therefrom. There may be people who think that it is now time to proceed to write the history of the Telugu country. I am not one of them. My own view^s is that we are yet not much beyond the threshold of the collecting stage and have yet to travel much in that direction. It is a very small percentage of the available inscriptions that have been examined. Very many more remain untouched, and until these and the general literature are critically examined, we shall not have completed the collection work to which I think the labours of the present day workers should be mainly devoted. The work may not be attractive. It may be drudgery. But it is a piece of work that has to be done. Let it be the privilege of the present generation to do it. Let us lay the foundation firmly and surely and leave it to the coming master builders to raise the edifice of history thereon, as structures based on ill-laid foundations collapse sooner or later. Let our aim be to make a real and lasting contribution to the reconstruction of the history of the country in order to get credit for ourselves.

By collection I do not, of course, mean a mere collection of books and inscriptions. I mean very much more i.e. critically examining the materials and drawing correct conclusions therefrom. This is often a laborious and tedious work. If you want your work to be correct, you must take certain precautions. You must first avoid haste—as hastily drawn conclusions are seldom right. Then, you must see that your enthusiasm does not run away with your discretion. Enthusiasm is a very good thing. In fact it is essential. Without it, no work can be done. But it should not be allowed to usurp the place of calm thinking. Above all, avoid the temptation to be the first to proclaim a brilliant discovery to the world. That temptation is very strong and sometimes almost irresistible. Nevertheless, you must try to over-come it. If you succumb to it, your vision gets dim and you cannot see the right path before you. In examining the evidence before you, do not assume the role of an advocate who has to prove his case any-how. Rather assume the position of an impartial judge whose business is to find the truth. Approach the subject in a spirit of detachment and impartiality. It would be of the greatest help to you if you could put yourself in the position of a possible objector and try to meet his possible objections. That would be the best test

of the value of your conclusions. I lay stress on the necessity for these precautions because they are often neglected. You see the effect of that neglect in many unnecessary and futile controversies going on in the newspapers, especially Telugu newspapers. To the man who wants to write history, I would say, first, make sure of your facts. Do not build on unproved foundations. Then, I would say, let the conclusions you draw from facts, have real relation to those facts. Do not travel beyond the scope of the facts or indulge in wild conjectures. We sometimes see cases in which the so-called facts are slender threads whereby the author tries to hang a theory too heavy for it to bear. I would then, say do not mix up facts and fancies. The ordinary lay reader is unwary and unable to separate them. Last but not least, do not attempt to be rhetorical or brilliant in style. Rhetoric and accuracy are not always compatible and history is expected to be accurate and not rhetorical.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the spirit of historical research is spreading in the Telugu country. At the time when I began to lisp in it, which is more than thirty years ago, there were very few in the field. In fact, I cannot now recollect any names. Of course, there were Messrs K Viresalingam Pantulu and Gurajada Sri-Ramamurti Pantulu but they were primarily concerned with writing the lives of poets. At the present time, there are several young men treading in that path. May their race increase! Among these men I must make special mention of two. One of them is the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao. He seems to have entered the field comparatively late in life, and in connection with the compilation of his TELUGU Encyclopaedia (తెలుగు భాషాసంక్షిప్తము), he wanted to devote a whole volume to the word *Andhra* and write in it all about the Andhras and their country. He wanted to do all this himself and began to acquire the necessary knowledge. It was a very ambitious programme that he set before himself and he was taken away before he could fulfil it. I had opportunities of appreciating his work. He worked on right lines and had the sense of historical veracity. The other gentleman whom I wish to mention is happily with us still. I mean Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao. Mr. Virabhadra Rao's achievements in this field are well known. He has an undying enthusiasm for his work, great industry and a facile pen. I do not say that I agree with all his conclusions or that his method is invariably such as I would myself adopt. But that is another matter. His services in the field of historical research are undoubted and he deserves the thanks of the Andhradesa for it.

TRI-KALINGA

By G. RAMADASS, B. A., M. R. A. S.

Tri-Kalinga, in the title of Tri-Kalingādhipati, appears to be the name of a country, of such importance that kings of Kalinga as well as the kings of Chedi took pride to call themselves 'the lords of Tri-Kalinga'. Either led away by the apparent meaning of the name or deceived by the traditional ideas regarding the extent of the region called Kalinga, modern scholars of Indian History understand it to signify 'three kalugas'.

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to say that it signified Dhanakata or Amaravati, Andhra or Warangal and Kalinga or Rajahmundry, three kingdoms that once existed along the east coast, supposed to have been called in ancient times by the name of Kalinga. He even asserts that the three Kalingas existed even in very ancient days because Pliny mentioned Macco Calingæ, Gangardies-Calingæ, and Calingæ, and because in Mahabharata, Kalinga were named three separate times and each time in conjunction with different peoples. But Dr. Fleet, being unable to justify the title of Tri-Kalingādhipati for each of the Somavamsi kings of Kattack, stated that it was a meaningless attribute [Ep Ind Vol in No 47 327] He arrived at this decision as he understood the expression to mean the 'Lord of the three Kalingas', and saw the impossibility of the kings of Kattack (Orissa) being the lords of a country stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna, particularly at a time when the Eastern Gāngas were supreme in the region of the Mahendra mountain. Leaving apart the statements regarding 'Kalinga of Pliny and of the Mahabhārata, nothing can be discovered to assert the existence of three separate Kalingas, in any period prior to that of Asōka, nor is there evidence to show that Kalinga extended as far as the Krishna in the south

It has been pointed out that Asoka had conquered and consolidated kingdom of Kalinga extending from the southern confines of Magadha in the north, to about Sōmpeta in the Ganjām District in the south. (Samāpa or the Asōkan Kalinga: Ind Ant. April and May 1923). Hiuen Tsāng, in his 'travels' states to have seen one Kalinga only with one capital and inhabited by men of uniform manners and customs. I have shown in the Historical Geography of Kalinga (Journal of Mythic Society Vol. XIV No. 4) that the kingdom of the Eastern Gāngas extended from the lake Chilka in the north, to about Salur.

in the south. The kings of Sūrya-vamśa that succeeded the Eastern Gāṅgas, extended their sway southwards to the Kaveri, if not beyond, but never called the whole of the east coast by the name of Kalinga. Simhachalam, a place of pilgrimage in Visagapatam District was the southern gate of Kalinga. When at no time between B. C 300 and A. D. 1500, the name of Kalinga was applied to the country south of Simhachalam and when the whole region during this whole period was treated as a consolidated unit, politically, socially and religiously, how can it be possible to include Andhra and Dhanakata in it and to interpret Tri-Kalinga to mean 'three-Kalingas'?

The real import of the name can be understood only by the study of the history of the kings of the several families that bore the title. Some of the Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga, the Kalachuri kings of Chedi and the Sōmavamśi kings of Cuttack, were the only rulers that prided themselves with the addition of "Tri Kalingadhipati," to the several titles they inherited from their respective ancestral thrones.

Amongst the Ganga kings of Kalinga, the first to embellish himself with the title of 'Tri-Kalingādhipati' was Vajra-hasta, miscalled 'the third'. Both in his own charters, of which only four have yet been found, and in the charters of his successors, he is called the lord of 'Tri-Kalinga' in addition to the appellations he had inherited as the ruler of Kalinga. None of his predecessors on the throne were 'Tri-Kalingadhipatis' though they were the kings of Kalinga. This Vajra-hasta was distinguished from his ancestors of the same name by this designation found in the charters of his successors. (*Sa-vajrahasastri-Kalinga-nadhah.*)² The Narasipatam plates dated Śaka Samvat 967, the oldest known document and the Madras Museum plates dated Śaka Samvat 984, also mention it. Though he ascended the throne in Śaka 960 or A. D. 1038 he seems to have assumed the lordship of Tri-Kalinga from about Śaka 967 or A. D. 1045. This he had maintained till his death in Śaka 990 or A. D. 1068.

The Chedi king Karnadeva, state his Benares plates dated Kalachuri samvat 793 (A. D. 1042), had this title of Lord of Tri-Kalinga' (*Ep. Ind.* vol. II p. 305). Gāṅgēyadeva, his father is said to have held in check the Pandyas, Muralas, Vangas, Kalingas, Kiras and

1. Narasipatam plates dated S. S. 67. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI No. 14)
Nadagam plates dated S. S. 979 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV No. 24).
Madras Museum plates dated S. S. 984. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX No. 11).
Chikkuli plates dated S. S. 982. (*Bharati* Vol. II No. 2).
2. Anantavaraman Choda Ganga's Visagapatam plates (*Ind. Ant.* June 1889).
Narasimhadeva II's plates.
Narasimhadeva IV's plates.

Junas, all of which countries must have been abutting on the Chēdi kingdom. The kings of Chēdi, and those of Kalinga being neighbours must have had causes of dispute. In a Chēdi charter dated A. D. 1042, Karnādēva was the lord of Tri-Kalinga. Kirtivarma Chandel from one side and Sōmēśvara Chālukya from the opposite had foiled this Karnādēva. Taking this opportunity of the weakened state of Chēdi, Vajrahasta of Kalinga might have defeated him and become the 'Tri-Kalingādhipati', necessarily taking the region of Tri-Kalinga under his sway. This must have been the reason for the appearance of the title in his grants from A. D. 1045 and its absence in those of his predecessors.

"Tri-Kalingādhipati Vajrahasta is said to have extended the kingdom of Kalinga in all directions which may be an exaggerated way of saying that he had acquired territory only on one side. Considering the situation and condition of his kingdom it was possible for him to extend it only towards the north-west; for the Kalinga kings, long before the time of this Vajrahasta, had subdued the country of Svātaka, identified with Chikati (*Jour. Mythic Society*, vol. XIV No. 4) and were strongly established there. To the north of this Svātaka lay Utkala, with which the Kalinga kings had nothing to do till the time of Anantavarma Choda Ganga who is said to have replaced the fallen lord of Utkala. To the north-west of Svātaka which is now marked by the Zamindaries of Surangi, Chikati and the south-eastern portion of Chinakimidi Zamindari and to the west of the hills of which Mahendra-giri is the highest peak, lies a hill country which abuts on the west on Dakshina-Kōsala, which long before the time of which we are writing, went under the sway of Kalachuri kings of Chēdi who seemed to have ruled over the country extending to the Gōdavarī, in the south.

In ancient times, Kalinga is said to have extended to Amarakantak in the west. Both *Matsya* (*Adhy.* 185 ver. 9) and *Kūrma* (*Adhy.* 109 ver. 9) *Purāṇas* say that the Narmadā drains the western half of Kalinga occupied by Amarakantak. Within the region between the east coast and the Amarakantak hills were shown the Mekalas, the Utkalas and the Kalingas, who were respectively the Macco-Calingæ, Gangarides-Calingæ and Calingæ of Megasthenes. The Maikal range of the Vindhya mountains still bears evidence of the habitation of the Mekalas in that region. In my paper on *Tri-linga and Kalingā* (*Ind. Ant.* Dec. 1925) it was shown that the name of Kalinga was derived from *Kui* language still spoken by the Khonds, Gonds and other allied tribes. The old name of Gondwāna given to the same region clearly proves that the whole region formed the home

of the Gonds, a name generally applied to all the *Kui* speaking tribes in the Central Provinces. In *Kui*, 'Mel' means high; cf. *Tamil*, *mēle*; *Tel.* *mīda*, *Kanṇada* *mēle*. *Kal* or *Kala* is a contraction of *Kalinga*. So the *Kalingas* that inhabited the hills became known as *Meeco-Calinga*, which being contracted became *Mekals*. The *Gangarides calinga*, were so called because they lived in the region of the Ganges (*Ganga*) of damp and watery soil. *Ganga* also means water in general. *Ūta* in *Kui* is applied to water that oozes. *Gangarides-alinga* when changed into the language of the natives becomes *Ūta-Kalinga* which being contracted becomes 'Ut-kal'. Many derive this from 'Uttara Kalinga', but this is not feasible as the name of the southern part is not spoken with any affix meaning, south. As the southern part has no distinguishing feature, the name that was applied to the whole class in general, has been left in its unmodified form.

Though the Amarakantak hills formed the western boundary of *Kalinga* in the Puranic times, the political and tribal changes that had occurred in later times gradually placed the Amarakantak region under the sway of the kings of *Chēdi*, and the Eastern *Gangas* could subdue only the plain country from the river *Nagavali* in the south to the *Chilka* lake in the north. A tract of hill country now occupied by the *Kalahandi* state, *Sambalpur* District of *Orissa* and the *Gumsoor* mahahs of *Ganjam* intervened between the dominions of *Chēdi* and the Eastern *Ganga* kingdom. It was for this territory that *Karnadeva* of *Chēdi* and *Vajrahasta* of *Kalinga* came into clash. Both were warriors and both were ambitious of a soldier's name. But *Chēdi*'s king surrounded by powerful enemies on all sides was forced to surrender this territory along with the title to the *Kalinga* sovereign. It was this hill tract that was called *Tri-Kalinga*.

The affix 'Tri' signifies height, * a feature that distinguished it from *Kalinga* proper which was the coastal plain. Places in India where height or elevation is prominent have names beginning with 'Tri' or 'Tiru'. *Tripati* or *Tirupati*, a place of pilgrimage in the *Chittoor* District is situated on a high range of the Eastern ghats. *Telugu* votaries address the God by the name of *Kondalu*-(of mountains) *rāyadu* (ruler or king). *Tiru-mala-rāyadu* is another name of the God. 'Mala' means 'hills' and 'Tiru' means 'high'. *Tiru-mala* is the name of the range, i.e., high hills.

Tri-chinopoly is an important place in the South. It is said that the name is a corruption of *Tri-sirapally*. It is explained that it was the abode of a three-headed demon. Every one that has visited

* 'Tiru' is generally meant, to be a corrupt form of Sanskrit word 'Sri' and means 'Lakshmi' or 'auspicious'. It does not appear to mean 'high' as the learned writer thinks—Ed.

the place cannot but admit of the striking appearance of the rock round which the town grew. Seen from the front, the rock looks like the human-head. Therefore the name means *Tiru*=high ; *Siva*=head; *pally*=town) i. e. a town with a high head (like rock).

Pakshi-tirtham is the Sanskrit translation of *Tirucalcondram* (*Tiru-kazhu-kunram*) a place of pilgrimage in Chengalput District, "It means the 'high hill of kite'. As it stands upon a hill which is loft above the plain, it is named so. Trichengode in Salem District got the affix on account of the hill 1200 ft high on which its temple stands. Thus, a careful study of the topography of the places with names beginning with this prefix clearly shows that it signifies that the height of the place was considered when the name was given to each. Whatever is high or elevated is eminent and holy. So came the secondary meaning in which it is used in such names as *Tiru-Vacagam*. In later days this sense of piety stuck on to it and the original meaning was dropped. This is so in Southern India where Dravidian influence is felt, but in Northern India, where the Dravidian influence was entirely forgotten, the word is mistaken for 'tri' (Sanskrit word for three)". Consequently, "Tri-pura is understood to mean 'three cities'; and Tri-kuta to mean 'three peaks'. Yet the original meaning of height suggests itself, if their descriptions are studied. The word in the original sense still exists as 'Tir' in the language of the Gadabas, a Mundari tribe closely attached to the Savaras.

In the light of this, "Tri-Kalinga" means 'High Kalinga' and conveys the same idea as Mel-Kalinga or Mel-kal or Mekal; it is the name of this hilly region lying to the west of Kalinga. The agency tracts of Ganjam and Visagapatam Districts are identified to have been the ancient Mahakāntāra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (*Kingdoms of the Deccan Ind. Hls Quarterly* for Dec 1925). In an inscription found at Amaravati, (*Slab No 8 Amarāvati Stupa by Burgess*) a village 'Sagaru' is said to have been situated in Mahāvana. I have shown in my paper on 'A brief survey of Nandapur History (*Vizianagaram Maharajah's College Magazine*, Vol iv, Nos. 33 and 34) that Nandapur, the ancient capital of the present Jeypore family was as old as the Amarāvati Stupa. In the vicinity of this Nandapur is a village called Soguru. The Mahākantāra of the Allahabad *prasasti*, being a translation of Mahavana of the inscription, the Agency Division of the Vizagapatam District can, with no doubt, be said to have been the dominion of Vyaghra-rajā. This region extends as far as the Mahendra-giri in the north. So the hill to the north-west of this mountain was the Tri-Kalinga for which the kings of Chedi and Kalinga competed. Naturally this hill-region forms a part of the Kosala kingdom which occupied the upper valley of the Mahānadi. So the dispute for Tri-Kalinga was chiefly between

Kosala and Kalinga alone. But in the 10th century the kings of Chedi conquered Kosala and set up a *Mandalśvara* over it. The Governors of Kosala were brought face to face with the Gangas of Kalinga. At the time of Samudragupta's conquest, both hill-Kalinga and plain-Kalinga seem to have been under one king. By using the expression Mahendra-giri-Kothūra, the author of the Prasasti, perhaps intended to hint at the difference in the topography of two varieties of physical nature in the kingdom of Kalinga. But this difference in structure soon led to political separation also.

It is shown above that in A. D. 1045, Vajrahasta defeated Karnadēva of Chēdi and took Tri-Kalinga and called himself Tri-Kalingādhipati. This he retained till his death. Inscriptions of his son Rajaraja, are not yet brought to light. Yet as none of the successors of Karnadeva on the throne of Chedi bore the title till A.D. 1158 and as Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga had this title even from the time of his coronation, it may be safely assumed that Rājārāja held sway over Tri-Kalinga; nor was it disputed by the Chedi kings.

During the reign of Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga, the Chēdi rulers might have again made efforts through their vassals at Ratnapur to conquer Tri-Kalinga. Kharoḍ stone inscription dated Chēdi year 933 (A. D. 1181-82) says that Ratnadeva II of Ratnapur had defeated Chōḍa Ganga, the Lord of the country of Kalinga (*Ind. Ant.* Vol XXII p. 82). From the other inscriptions of the Chēdi kings, it is ascertained that Ratnadēva flourished between A. D. 1114 and 1145. Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga reigned over Kalinga from A. D. 1068 to 1147. This defeat of the Kalinga sovereign by a Chēdi vassal-lord is not mentioned in any of the available documents of the Kalinga kings; yet the disappearance of the title of *Tri-Kalingādhipati* from the titles of the kings, sufficiently establishes the loss of the territory as a result of this defeat. Chōḍa Ganga is said to be the Lord of Tri-Kalinga in his Visagapatam plates dated Saka 1033 (*J. A. Vol. XVIII*); and Saka 1057; and in Kornī plates dated Saka 1003 (*Bharati* Vol II No. 8). But he is not spoken of with that appellation in his other grants, nor does that title appear amongst the titles in the inscriptions of his successors on the throne. His inscriptions at Mukhalingam ranging from A. D. 1118 to 1147 do not give this title of "*Tri-Kalingādhipati*." There are four or five inscriptions of his wives dated in A.D. 1128 at Dakshārāma in the Godavary District. In none of them is he called a '*Tri-Kalingādhipati*'. It may be assumed that from A.D. 1118 he had lost the title as well as the territory and it must have been the year of his defeat by the Chedi prince Ratnadeva II. The Kalinga kings never afterwards seemed to have assumed it as it is not found mentioned in any of their inscriptions. The cause for the appearance

of the title in his Visagapatam plates of Saka of 1057 may be due to the mistakes of the scribe, who might have, in copying the composition from an earlier grant, inadvertently copied this title also. Anyānkabhima, a son of Chōda Ganga is called *Tri-Kalingādhipati* in the inscription at Bhuvaneswar (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVI; Part 1 No. I p. 18). Observing that he is not called so in any other inscription and considering the high rhetoric employed in the composition, the title might have been used by the poet. Thus the title and the territory that gave the title, remained in the Eastern Ganga dynasty from A. D. 1045 to 1118 and went back to the Kalachuri kings of Chedi and ever afterwards the two parts of the hilly west and the coastal strip remained under separate kings. This separation became so widened that their ethnographical relation was forgotten and the plain country below the ghats alone retained the original name; the ghat road that goes from Russel-konda to Durga prasad peak into the hill country is called Kalinga ghat i.e. the ghat that leads into Kalinga.

Tri-Kalinga together with the title remained in the Chedi family from A. D. 1118 to 1175 as can be seen from their inscriptions of this period, but disappears afterwards from the inscriptions of those that ruled over Chedi. Lal-pahad inscription of Chedi samvat 909 (A. D. 1158) is the first known document of Narasimha-deva of Tripuri and it mentions the appellation of 'Tri-Kalingādhipati' amongst the king's other titles. His younger brother Jayasimha-deva appears with the title in Rewah plates of Maharana Kirti-varma of Kakka-reddi dated Chedi Samvat 927 (A. D. 1175), (*I. A.* Vol. XVII p. 226) but his own Tewar inscription dated Chedi Samvat 928 (A.D. 1127) (*Ep. Ind.* Vol II p. 18) does not mention this title. It is not also found in the Chedi inscriptions after that date. After A. D. 1177, it must have been lost to the Kalchuri kings of Tripuri also.

The *Soma-vamsi* kings of Katak (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III No. 47, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI No. 93 and *J. A. S. B.* Vol VII p. 558) were the third family of kings to embellish themselves with the title of *Tri-kalingādhipati*. Dr. Fleet, on considerations of paleography, assigned them to the XI century. But we have seen above that between A.D. 1042 and 1175, the title was owned either by the kings of Chedi or by the rulers of Kalinga. So, as 'Lords of Tri-Kalinga' they could not have existed in this period. They were lords of Kosala first, and then must have become the lords of Tri-Kalinga also. Long before Karnadeva sat on the throne of Chēdi, Kalinga-raja, a descendant of the Chēdi family of Tripura acquired Dakshina-Kosala and settled at Tummanna. (Ratnapur stone inscription of Jājalla-dēva. *Ep Ind.* Vol. I p. 32). He was the founder of the Ratnapur family of Kalachuries. This family may be said to have been established at the end of A. D.

1000. Consequently these Soma-vamsi kings cannot be taken to such earlier period, for the characters of their inscriptions have more of the 12th century appearance. The title that accompanied the possession of the territory called Tri-Kalinga strengthens the paleographical evidence.

Mahāsiva Tivāra.deva must have been the ruler of Kosala that was ousted from the throne by Karna-dēva of Chēdi. During the interval of 133 years from A. D. 1042 to 1177, the four generations before Maharajadhiraja Mahāsivagupta established himself on the throne of Kosala, having wrested it or at least the southern part from the Ratnapur line. From the time of Mahābhavagupta Raja deva I alias Janamejaya Rajadeva, the power of the kings might have increased as can be seen from the addition of Raja in their name which is not found in the names of his predecessors. The first of these to assume the title of '*Tri-Kalingādhipati*' was Mahābhavagupta Raja deva I alias Janamejayadeva. He might have conquered Tri-Kalinga in about A. D. 1175 from Chedi sovereigns and continued to be so till the kingdom of Kosala had disappeared. How Dakshina-Kosala had disappeared, or into what kingdom was Tri-Kalinga merged, are not yet known.

Thus it became clear that Tri-Kalinga does not mean 'three Kalingas' and that '*Tri-kalingādhipati*' was not an empty title, but was a substantial and dignified title assumed by that sovereign who held away over the highlands intervening between the coast strip called Kalinga and the Dakshina-Kosala or the modern Chhatisgarh.

SOUTH INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

BY P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.

Tracing out the history of a country satisfactorily from monuments, inscriptions and antiquities by systematic investigations is perhaps the most important duty of the Archæologists and Epigraphists of a country and their respective departments. The locality of a country and its physical features contribute in no small measure to the study of the characteristics of the people inhabiting it. In the light thrown by the informations obtained from Archæological and Epigraphical records, South India, though a country most homogeneous and well defined, has a variety of races in it, and the manifold differences that exist among these races in the various parts of it baffle the attempts of even the ablest and the best of the Archæologists and Epigraphists to trace out its history as well as that of its people with any amount of satisfaction. This is all the more deplorable since nothing worthy to be termed 'REGULAR HISTORY' has been left behind by the people of ancient times but a few literary productions and inscriptions on stones belonging to the comparatively later period and it is only with the help of these we have to do something for the understanding of the past history of this part of India. Though from our Epics and Puranas much historical matter could be gathered attempts in this direction have not been made. *'A half loaf is better than nothing'* and the people of Southern India are bound to be grateful to the Government of India and the Archæological and Epigraphical departments formed by it, for having secured this fraction of information at least for them before it was too late, since ancient monuments and edifices were fast dwindling into decay.

The history of the formation of the Archæological Department, in India is highly interesting to study. A society going by the name of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal' was formed by a few European gentlemen in the year 1784 for giving an impetus to the study of Indian Antiquities. This germ, after the lapse of three quarters of a century perhaps, resulted in the appointment of an Archæological Surveyor by the Government of India for making systematic investigation and study of the archæological antiquities, monuments and inscriptions, found scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land.

In the beginning, the energies of the Surveyor appointed and his entire attentions were directed to Northern India alone. But on representation made to the government that even the portion of the

information that could be had just then would not be available after some time since vegetation on buildings worked out a good deal of harm in a tropical country like India, and monuments, buildings etc that could furnish valuable information, social and historical, were fast falling into decay and ruin complete, that the Secretary of State for India initiated for the first time the conservation of old Architectural structures and the exploration of the numerous valuable and interesting memorials of the ancient civilization of India. Some three years after this, a regular Archaeological survey establishment was entertained for making a complete search for all Architectural and other remains remarkable for antiquity, beauty or historical interest. Operations in this direction were initiated in Southern India, only after about ten years subsequent to the above time.

The officer posted for the Madras Presidency was one Mr. Alexander Rea, a trained architect from Scotland. He had to inspect the various ancient monuments calculated to exemplify the different styles of architecture prevalent in the land. Old buildings, remains of bygone artistic periods such as forts etc., having historical value and interest, inscriptions recorded on stone walls of temples as well as in copper plate grants given by the Hindu kings of former days, all valuable art works of the past such as prehistoric implements, pottery and other articles that could furnish information about the then society and buildings of high architectural value such as temples etc., were to be regarded as monuments and dealt with accordingly.

CONSERVATION OF BUILDINGS.

Steps that had to be taken most urgently were about the conservation of buildings monuments and other Indian antiquities. The destructive influence of vegetation on buildings was well known to the ancient Hindus and they had made provisions for the periodical or annual removal of plants etc., growing on temples and other public buildings held in esteem. The department took advantage of this fact to minimise the evil, resulting to buildings of interest and importance, on account of this over-growth of vegetation. Negligence in the removal, then and there, of the growth of plants on public buildings spoiled their original beauty and so in order to preserve them and keep them unimpaired, not only were suitable arrangements necessary but steps had also to be taken to prevent decay and destruction from the non-working of the drainage, in and around most of those huge structures etc.

Negligence in taking timely steps to avert damage from rain had resulted in the rain water collecting near the foundation of buildings and causing their walls to sink in various places. When once the walls go down in parts, it is impossible to reconstruct them. So, the result is that the whole building has to be pulled down. Further, any slight sinking in places when patched up by buttresses etc, mars the original beauty of the buildings themselves.

Silpa Śāstra or the science of Indian Architecture has laid down certain principles that have to be followed very closely and strictly when repairs to temple buildings etc, are to be undertaken. But now a days such injunctions are followed more in the breach than in the observance and the Natruko tai Chetties, ever zealous in undertaking repairs to famous temples, do not in the least care to follow any of such principles but try to introduce all sorts of innovations such as putting up of ventilators, stumpy pillars and so on.

EXCAVATION OF OLD SITES.

The next important work that had to engage the attention of this department and its responsible officers was the excavation of old sites, since it was the excavation of such sites that brought to notice such buildings and palaces of ancient days as those of the Chola, Pandya and other kings that remained covered over by earth owing to neglect in consequence of the constant change of their capitals.

In support of what has been stated above, we may say that while the palace buildings of the later Vijayanagara dynasty of kings are now in existence at Hampi, Chandragiri and Peukonda, those of the rulers before them are to be looked far below the surface of the earth covering them. The latest incident in proof of this is the exposure of a tank at Darasuram near Kumbakonam, near which, at the present village of Solamaligai, stood once the palace of the Cholas,

Certain excavations conducted by the Berlin Doctor Jahor at Adichanallur near Sri-Vaikuntam, now a deserted village some twelve miles east of Tinnevely (where probably once stood a Pandya capital) resulted in the discovery of pottery of various shapes (rather more elegant and of a better manufacture than any met with at the present day), iron implements used in battles, bronze domestic utensils of high and delicate workmanship and some gold diadems. Subsequent to this discovery, the Madras Government also unearthed from this vast area several of the above articles, now occupying almost one full compartment in the Madras Museum.

At a place called Amaravati in the Kristna District, a Buddhist site was examined in a similar way resulting in the discovery of some marble railings with fine carvings of *Jataka* stories. These also have been transported to the Madras Museum, where one could easily witness them now.

LISTING OF MONUMENTS.

Listing of monuments in the land was then considered necessary and Mr. Sewell of the Civil Service was placed on special duty for the purpose in 1881. He drew up a list of monumental antiquities with the information furnished by the District Officials and issued the same in 2 volumes, 4 years after his appointment. One important defect in this publication was that it did not at all touch upon the style of Architecture of the buildings referred to therein, though all other possible information available about them had found a place therein. The reason for the above omission appears to be due to the fact that the officer was not technically qualified for the work entrusted to him.

When Mr. Rea took charge of his office as Surveyor of the Madras Circle, he published for the first time in 1891 a list containing typical specimens of the various architectural periods, classified as given under:

1. Buddhistic remains 250 B.C. to 500 A.D.
2. Pallava caves and structures 500 A.D. to 700 A.D.
3. Chola and Pandya temples of the 11th century
4. Chalukyan temples of the 12th to the 14th centuries
5. Jaina temples of the 14th century.
6. Later Dravidan temples of the 15th century

In addition to the above, the list also contained examples of military architecture, civil architecture, christian remains, pre-historic mounds etc., Monographs on the various important styles of architecture were also issued by Mr. Rea with profuse illustrations. These volumes throw a fund of information on the various temples lying in the country.

BUDDHIST BUILDINGS.

The principal element in the buildings of the Buddhist style of architectures is the *Stupa* or *Dagoba*, intended as the receptacle for the relics of Buddha himself or his disciples. Hence, Buddhist shrines may well be called 'Monumental Shrines', and they consist of cylindrical bases supporting hemi-spherical domes going by the names of *garbhās*, with square stone boxes called 'Tees'.

Lord Buddha is generally represented in his images as being seated on a throne, with corners supported by two lions, with folded hands and feet thrown on a lotus blossom.

The main hall itself in the building going by the name of *Chartya* is constructed with brick and *chunnam* and is intended for preaching purposes. To enable the audience seated throughout the hall to hear the speaker distinctly, the hall was designed and constructed adopting the acoustic principles, i.e. principles of sound transmission.

As symbolism is the main feature in Buddhism, Buddhist buildings are full of decorations of the kind, *Trisula*, *Chakra*, *Swasthika* shield and so on.

Discoveries have also been made of Jaina caves containing sculptures with inscriptions throwing some lights on history and religion in several places such as Vallimalai in the North Arcot District, Mudbidri near Mangalore, Kazhumalai near Madura, Hampi etc.

DRAVIDIAN TEMPLES.

The style of architecture in all Dravidian temples is something like the description furnished below -

The main shrine is at the centre of a rectangular enclosure divided into various courts of high cross walls. Generally, the entrance is through the east by a lofty *gopura* which is the most prominent part in the whole building. The lower portion of the *gopura* up to the lintel and cornice over the gateway is of stone highly ornamented. The superstructure is in brick and *chunnam* with plaster figure ornamentation in several storeys, each growing smaller in area as we go up. The other *gōpurās* inside are of smaller dimensions as we recede from the outermost. The central shrine has in front of it two connective passages and they go by the names of *Artha* and *Mahā Mandapas*. There are door keepers called *dwarapalakas* placed on the sides of these passages as well as in the shrine proper. In front of these halls, there is the bull of Siva in Siva temples and Garuda in Vishnu temples with *bali-peatam* and *dvajastambam* at their backs. Besides, the *Mūla-Vigrahams* which are non-movable fixtures, there are the metal figures *Utsava-murtis* for being taken out in procession on festival occasions. In large temples there are seven *prākāras* wherein allocations are made for the location of the minor deities. The temples at Srirangam, Madura and Rameswaram are examples of such large temples and these are described in full in my book "SOUTH INDIAN SHRINES".

THE PALLAVA STYLE.

The Pallavas, who are supposed to have come from the North-West of India, had the bull for their crest and the club as the emblem of their banner. They settled in the Tondamandalam country and had Conjeevaram for their capital. The sculptures of these people are not so graceful as those belonging to those of a later period. The piers are very massive and the human figures on them have the tuft of hair on the crown and not at the back as we find it to be in the other styles of architecture.

Rock-cut temples were the favourite structures of these kings and it is the great Mahendravarman I, that introduced these for the first time in the South of India. His motives for the innovation are said to be (as seen from an inscription in the first cave excavated by him at Mandagapattu near Villupuram) the desire to preserve the divine edifices permanently. This cave has been intended for the worship of the Trimurtis - Brahma, Vishnu and Siva of the Hindu Mythology. In the introduction to my "*Mattavilasam*", this has been dealt with

THE CHALKYAN STYLES

This lunar dynasty of kings originally came from the North of India and settled in the Ceded Districts. They had the boar as the emblem for their crest, and the Jains had a very great influence over them which affected their architecture also. The circular columns in their architecture bore profuse carvings. It is probable that after dressing the piers to the required outline, they were fixed *in situ* and the delicate carvings were then worked out. The introduction of perforated stone windows is also due to them. The ceilings also had at the corners, carvings of the regents of the cardinal points.

THE CHOLA STYLE

The Cholas of the solar race had tiger as the emblem for their banner. Their architecture had heavily curved cornices, and *Pali* figure also were there in plenty at the belt. Most of the buildings relating to this line of kings are illustrated in my book "*South Indian Shrines*".

FORTS AND PALACES.

Forts and Palaces contained finely ornamented arches with unusually thick walls surrounded by a ditch or moat in most cases. Accommodations and arrangements for military purposes such as powder-magazines and loop-holes for mounting guns were also made

in places intended for the purpose. Hari Chandragiri Gingee, Tanjore, Madura and other places have castles of the kind referred to above. In hill stations the forts are invariably on the peaks that could afford facilities for defence and their stone walls go round to the requisite declension of the rock over which provision for placing the gun has been made. Amongst the important hill forts may be mentioned those at Adoni, Gooty, Sankaridurg, Namakal etc.

INSCRIPTIONS

From the Inscriptions on the stone walls of the temples and on copper plates, we gather that gifts to temples were in kind or coin and that they were usually made for the daily worship and special festivals of the deity as well as for repairs etc., to the temples themselves. In addition to this, some of the inscriptions throw light on the past history of the land and the state of society then.

Impartial justice was the care of the kings in olden days and we have heard instances of criminal decisions where the king's own sons have been awarded sentences of capital punishment, both from epigraphs and sculptures available at Tiruvarur (Tanjore District) and Tirukalukuram near Madras.

Village administration during those times was in the hands of a committee, the members of which had to look after the annual and periodical supervision of tanks, gardens, justice, gold reserve and so on. These members were chosen every year from among those qualified for being chosen as per requirements laid down.

Regarding revenue survey, we find that measurement of lands etc., was made with a standard length of pole. We moreover, have references to canals, sluices etc., dug for irrigation purposes by the then rulers of the land to improve the agricultural operations.

Reference has also been made to the prevalence of plague in those days called '*Mori-Jwara*' and people having in consequence evacuated the locality visited by the fell epidemic and residing in huts in open fields.

Mercantile guilds were also held in those days and their influence is said to have spread over allied committees in distant parts of India even

Public meetings also are said to have been in vogue in those ancient days to discuss matters relating to the good of the country. The people generally assembled in the temple-hall during day time in

response to the call by the beat of the village drum. On urgent occasions, meetings have also been held at nights

Schools for the study of the *Vedas*, and the *Sāstras* and hostels and hospitals for the scholars in those schools had also existed then. The students were provided with food, oil for anointing the head and body on Saturdays and also with lamps. The hospitals were provided with beds also for the sick people. Water scented with Cardamom and Kus-kus roots (*Vetiver*) was supplied to the inmates to drink

The various titles of the Pallava king, Narasimha-varman *viz* Adhyantakama, Sri-midhi, Sri-bhara, Parātpara, Bhuvana-bhanjana, Srimēgha, and Sarvatô-bhadra have also been given on the Dharma-raja ratha at Mahabalipuram. The inscriptions found in the Ganesa temple and the Dharma-raja-Mandapa in Mahabalipuram and those found in the cave at Paluvan-Kuppam close by it record that they were built by king Adhyantakama who bore the titles Ranajaya Sri-midhi, Sri-bhara, Anugraha, Kalakasa, Samaradhananjaya and Sangrama-dūra. The shore temple inscriptions at Mahabalipuram, make mention of three temples, two of them built by the Pallava king Jalasayana *alias* Ksatriyasimha Pallava Iswara-deva and Rajasimha Pallava Iswara deva, and the third built by one Pallikoadaruliya-deva.

The pedigree of the Pallava kings is given in an epigraph on the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeevaram built by one Rajasimha. The shrine of Naradhîswara within, contains an inscription that Rajasimha's son Mahendravarman I. built it and called the deity 'Mahēndrêswara', after his own name. During the reign of Kulotunga Chola-deva this temple was closed, its landed properties were sold and the compound and the environments were transferred to another temple. It was ordered to be re-opened and its properties restored subsequently. The Pandava-dūhar temple here contains an inscription relating to the fifth year of Kulotunga. It states that he got himself crowned as king on the banks of the river Vegavati and that he had also decapitated a Pandya king. There is also a copper plate grant which gives the ancient geography of Conjeevaram city.

The Buddhist tope inscriptions at Amarāvati records the geneology of the Pallava kings. The fact that Simhavarman II came to this place, erected the *stupa* there, and ornamented it with jewels, gold and silver is also recorded in it.

The Trichinopoly cave inscription records that Mahendra-varman called by names Gunabhara, Purushôttama, Satrymalla and

Satyasamudha constructed a temple of Siva on the top of this mountain and placed in it a lingam and a statue of himself.

An inscription in the inside of the front *Gopura* of the temple at Virinjeeppuram near Vellore refers to the question of the sacred law (*Dharma*) of the Brahmaṇas and it was settled by the brahmaṇas of the kingdom of Padaveedu. There were among them Karnata, Tamil, Telugu and Lāta Brahmaṇas also. Their representatives are said to have signed an agreement that from that time forward, i.e. Saka 1347 marriages among them should be by *Kanja-Dānam* only. The father has to give his daughter to the bridegroom as a free gift and not for money. Both the father who accepted the money and the bride-groom who paid the money for the bride would be liable to excommunication from their caste. This perhaps was brought about on the strength of the authority of the canonical works on sacred law that condemn in strong terms the payment of money for the bride. The name *asuravāha* is given for a marriage thus brought about.

The trustees and the other officers are said to have met at the theatrical hall of the temple at Tiruvida-Marudur near Kumbakonam. This shows that dramatic performances were conducted in temple halls in those days. Some original inscriptions were found in underground cellars and when the temple was renovated, true copies were made of them and re-incised on the stone walls of the renovated temple.

From the inscriptions in the famous temple at Tanjore, built by Rajaraja I, several interesting facts are gathered. It is recorded therein that gifts made by him, his elder sister and his wives should be engraved on the walls of the central shrines in preference to other parts of the temple. The list of numerous gifts of ornaments contained names, the like of which are not in vogue at the present day. Provision was made for feeding fifty men who have to recite the "Tirupatiyam" (Saiva Hymns) in this temple. The names of the dancing-women imported to this temple from elsewhere go after the several sacred places dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. The villages assigned to this temple lay in different places, to wit, Thondainadu or Jayankondas shōlamandalam, Pandanādu or Rājñājamandalam, Gangapadi; Nulambapadi or Nigalishoyapadi; Malainadu and Izham (Ceylon) or Mummudasholamandalam. The last one, said to have been thus gifted over, proves that the present island of Ceylon had been a province of the Chola king Rajaraja in the 11th century A. D. All the available information relating to the history of this famous Chola king Rajaraja I has been collected and issued by me in book form in Tamil entitled "*Raja Rajacholam I*" for the use of the public and the school going population.

SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE AGENCY DIVISION

By R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T., Govt. Arts College.

Ethnology and Anthropology are rightly considered to be the true handmaids of history but scholars of Indian History, it is regrettable to note, are not paying proper attention to the study of these interesting subjects. Scientific investigations and detailed studies are not yet undertaken by Indian students in these parts. The causes may be two-fold: (a) Lack of interest due probably to want of time, money or energy required for research work in the hilly and secluded parts of the country and (b) Want of proper training, due to lack of laboratories, museums and other facilities for work.

No doubt, within the last half a century, thanks to the British officials, District Gazetteers, Village Mannuals, Census Reports, Linguistic and Ethnographic Survey Reports, journals and books on castes, tribes, customs, manners and folklore have appeared with some anthropological work shown in them. Travellers (foreign and Indian), Missionaries establishing houses in the Agency parts. Police and Educational officers touring in those parts and writers on military transactions in the Agency parts, all have left their works on Anthropology but a perusal does not give to a serious student much that is valuable. Even writers like Mr. E. Thurston have written in a superficial way basing largely their writings on census or other reports or on the cursory contributions of correspondents. The subject had not been approached under the various heads racial, linguistic, social, religious and economic to meet the needs of an ardent student; and probably the causes explained above are responsible. Nor is the subject studied in a correlated manner so as to inform us if some or all the tribes now found in different parts of India, nay World origin, ally belonged to one place or to one stock and if so, what led to their migrations and how the climate and geographical surroundings of the new abodes brought about the present changes. Unless such details are mastered by scholars in various parts of the country, it is difficult to draw the general rules of this science. In each case the facial and racial qualities of the tribes should be studied, so as to afford the necessary results. Their different languages and religions should be compared and contrasted. The Agency Division, the field of my present investigation, comprises the Agency parts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, and Godavari Districts. It has an area of about 20,000 square miles and it is said to be larger by two thousand miles than the plains' area of the three

districts plus Krishna also. But while the three "plain " districts have a population of $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions. the Agency population is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In the Agency, the malarial climate, want of communications and the lack of other facilities are responsible for this poor population. Though some parts are thickly peopled several portions look deserted. From 12 to 15 people only inhabit a square mile And the peoples, being primitive and nomadic do not stick up to the same place for more than 4 or 5 years. Even the tillers of the soil very often leave it for a more virigin one and after cultivating for two years, leave it again.

Forests are extensive, the total area being about four thousand square miles. Almost all the tribes living in the forests roam about hunting and fishing and one can see the moving villages of these primitive tribes settling in a new spot where the mountains streams and forest resources afford greater facilities. Some of the mountains are very elevated varying from 400 ft. to 3000 ft. and from top to foot they are cultivated by some of these wandering tribes Paddy, Cotton Cholam, Ragi and all other dry grains are grown. In the Agency parts I now speak of, the Kōyas, the Sugālis, the Yānādis and the Yerukulās and other primitive tribes live. From Polavaram, which lies on the right bank of the Godavari, twenty miles to the north of Rajahmundry, the Kōya coutry extends to the Nizam's Dominions in the north west and occupies a good geographical position owing to the mountains the Eastern Ghats and their offshoots and rivers, the Godavary and its feeders, traversing it.

The Kōyas live in hamlets. Each hamlet consists of 10 to 50 thatched sheds built in the heart of forest The hamlets are built in groups and a group of 15 villages called a "*Samatu*" * is under the control of a *Samatu-Dora*, generally an elderly and experienced Kōya who is clever in giving advice and settling disputes. Each village has its own "*Pedda*" and under him a *Pinna pedda* and they will settle disputes. The punishment is in kind *viz.* toddy, the loser of the case giving so much. The villagers depend upon wells or on some neighbouring rivulet for water. They hunt or fish and eke out their livelihood with some hardship They burn the forest round the village in summer and in the rainy season cultivate the land and raise Cholam or Samalu They also depend upon the forest produce, *viz.*, fruits, roots, mowha leaves, honey, tamarind, tobacco, toddy, Ippa flowers and other articles which they can collect easily. They are lazy as well as overactive according to circumstances. They also live by cow-breeding, cow-lifting, thieving etc. They are every bad drunkards.

Could this be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Samiti? -Ed.

I found the men and animals very stunted in growth. The people are black and ugly but are said to be simple, honest and frank. As Thurston points out, they excite admiration owing to their simple and honest lives, contempt, owing to their drunken, restless, and extravagant habits, amusement for their stupidity and timidity and disgust for their gross superstition and blood-thirsty habits. One has to call them *Māma* or *Dora* to tickle their vanity in order to obtain the necessary information. When one is familiar, *Māma* is used for males and *Akka* for females. One should live amidst them for a long time to know interesting details regarding their origin, life, language, religion, birth, marriage and death ceremonies and their meaning according to their interpretation and also about their dress, and jewels, superstitions and folklore etc., and one should study the spots more carefully where they live for discovering ancient remains such as geological finds or old stone implements. Palaeoliths and animal remains were found in the Godavary valley and if more time and energy are spent on the mountain caves and slopes, more useful discoveries can be made. Probably, prehistoric archaeological remains and fossil human remains may be discovered. These Agency parts are undoubtedly old and places like *Parnaśā'a* are mentioned in Ramayana as the abode of Rama in his wanderings. Probably, the Kōyas and Yānādis or Adādis formed an alliance with Rama and helped him. The bow and arrow used then are still used by these people. Some of these Koyas wear a tail as part of their costume through their loin cloth which resembles the tail of a monkey. They are called *Lañja Koyas*, for *lanja* means a tail in *Koi* language. Could these *Lañja Kōyas* be the monkeys mentioned in Ramayana?

CASTE AMONG KōYAS. The Kōyas are divided into *Gumma Kōyas* who live on the river banks by cultivating the fields and the *Gutt-Kōyas* who live in the interior of the Agency by means of hunting. In both the sects there are those who wear the *lingam*. The Kōyas are sub divided according to the professions into *Basa Kōyas* (mixed ones) *Vaddi Kōyas* (Cultivators) *Dōlu Kōyas* (those who look after funerals) *Kāka Kōyas* (who do cooly work) and *Kammara Kōyas* (smiths). Almost all the Kōyas except those who wear a *lingam* i.e. the saivite Kōyas eat the flesh of oxen.

DRESS. The Kōya males usually wear a loin cloth, but on ceremonious occasions put on a turban. The females are usually semi-naked but richer folk wear rough saris. The males as well as the females wear round their necks and wrists garlands of nuts, beads and cowries. The married women wear a *tali* of gold or brass.

At the time of dance on festive occasions and at marriage time the Kōyas be-deck their head dresses with horns and plumage of birds.

RELIGION AMONG THE KOYAS. The religion is mostly animistic. They worship the elements of Nature, viz., the Tree-Gods, the Hill-Gods, the River-Gods and the unknown powers of air, earth, sky and water. Before beginning cultivation, they perform *bhu-pand ga*, generally in April to please the Goddess of Earth. On such an occasion, they sacrifice a fowl, a pig or a buffaloo, celebrate a grand feast and spend the whole time in drinking and dancing. It is the Kōya women that take greater interest and if on such occasions an outsider visits the village, woe unto him for the females pester him and force some money out of him on pain of throwing cow-dung and rubbish. They dance, they sing indecent songs and actually surround the stranger till they succeed in obtaining the present. The Koya dance is peculiar and interesting. They form into a circle and dance measuring their steps, and tilt their bodies to the right and left and sing all the while. Another feast called '*Samakottalu*' or '*Kottapanduga*' is celebrated in September. An elderly Koya informed me that they do not eat the Samalu or other produce raised on the fields without first celebrating this feast. Nor do they allow others to eat. A defaulter has to pay severely for the mistake. The Koyas believe that if they or the outsiders eat the newly harvested produce without celebrating the feast, they will be visited by some serious calamity. The following story was given to me by the same koyas. "A village school teacher, before the celebration of the feast entered a field, took some corn and used it for himself. The owner of the field protested in vain. The same night the owner of the field had one of the cattle dragged away by a tiger and the owner attributed it to the teacher's folly and forced him to pay for the loss. The Kōyas are an essentially superstitious, simple minded, and suspicious set of folk. In January, the Koyas celebrate the *Sankaranthi* festival like the other Hill Tribes. As usual the feast is celebrated by pigs or cattle being killed and flesh eaten by the whole village folk. The usual drinking of Ippa arrack follows. The night is spent in drinking more, dancing and feasting.

The Koyas worship Goddesses like *Mutyā'amna*, *Konladavatalu*, *Gangāramma*, etc. The first is the goddess of Small-pox or Cholera and therefore has to be carefully propitiated. Sacrifices of pigs or cattle are offered. The Kōya magicians, soothsayers and priests are given presents so as to wake up nights after nights in chanting spells so as to drive away the fearful Goddess. The *Kondadavatalu* are worshipped so that they may give protection to them

against tigers, evil spirits, etc. Besides this, ancestor worship prevails. The various sects worship *Velpūs* and these are represented some times by iron pieces and sometimes by stones. In all times of disease, scarcity of water, failure of crop, and cattle disease, this ancestral worship is resorted to. The Kōyas give offerings of fowl, rice and money to them. They also worship demons and devils. Death is considered to be due to some enemy sending a devil. The soothsayers and sorcerers are consulted and sacrifices offered to propitiate evil spirits. Like the Chenchūs who consider themselves to be the descendents of 'Krishna', the Koyas consider themselves to be related to Bhīma and Bhīma—worship is the general feature among the Kōya villages.

BIRTH CEREMONIES. The Kōya women are very hardy. Till the moment of child-birth, they go up the hills to collect fuel. After child-birth, too, they do not confine themselves but drink certain decoctions of some wild bark and go about for work. They bathe, eat food and go into jungle as usual. On the 5th or 7th day after childbirth, the child is washed and named. The Koyas near plains name the child without any ceremoney. They give any name that strikes them for the moment. But the Guṭṭa-Kōyas have a regular ceremony. All the relatives assemble and the child is placed on a raised floor and a leaf of Ippa (Mowha) is placed in its hands and any name is mentioned. Consent is shown by the child grasping or shaking it and refusal by its leaving it to fall to the ground. A name is suggested till the child accepts it. Feasting (generally a buffalo is killed), drinking and dancing follow the ceremoney.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES. Marriages take place after puberty. There is *Mēnarikam*, according to which the maternal uncle's son has the first claim. Marriages are of two ways. (1) By consent. Where the bridegroom's people place a pot of arrack in the house of the bride and where it is accepted, there is marriage by consent. This custom prevails among the *Savaras* and other jungle tribes. (2) By force. Where the toddy placed by the bridegroom is rejected, the bridegroom returns to his house but after a time goes back to the village with a party, waylays the girl when she goes out for water or fuel, catches her and carries her away, the party forming the body guard. Bloodsheds are often caused but if the bridegroom succeeds in carrying her off to his village, the marriage can be performed. But if the girl succeeds in running back to her parents three times before marriage, then she is left off.

The marriage ceremoney is brief, though the feast may drag on for three days. A small *pandal* is erected and under it two heaps of earth are raised on which some rice is sprinkled and the bridal pair take their seats opposite to each other. New clothes are presented by

the bridegroom to the bride and her parents. He has also to pay a bride's price i. e., a buffalo, or a pig, a few silver coins and a few pots of arrack. The pair exchange rice and milk which they take in and a priest may or may not play his part. The marriage takes place generally in the night. The bridegroom ties the *tali* which is either of gold or brass. The Kōya pipe plays its part. The feast, the drinking and dancing necessarily follow. Nuptials follow marriage immediately. After marriage, the bridegroom has to carry the bride to his village on his back and he is subject to pelting of stones and pebbles. The penalty for making her walk is a buffalo or a pig which is given to the bride's parents for a feast.

There is no early marriage, and once married the pair lead a happy life. The woman always rules in the house. Widows are allowed to re-marry but generally the husband's younger brother has a preferential claim. A childless widow is compelled to re-marry. There is penalty for adultery and a divorced woman's new mate has to pay penalty to the husband. There is thus no widowhood among the Kōyas. There is also polygamy.

DEATH CEREMONIES. All young are buried close to the houses. Married people are burnt after being carried to the forest close by, on a cot. A cow's tail is placed in the dead man's hand and the beast is used for the feast which follows. On the 3rd day, the ashes are gathered and put into a pit in the forest with some money and with all the dead man's belongings. Stone slabs are put over the ground where the ashes lie and tobacco, fruit and rice are offered on the 10th day and also yearly once. On the 3rd day, the dead man's relatives arrive with some presents and a feast is held. This is called the *Pedda Dinam*, which means the big day or figuratively speaking, the important day. Drinking and dancing follow the feast. Sometimes this feast is held on the 10th day or even a few months after. The feasts are held for the repose of the dead spirit so that it may not become a devil and do harm to the village. There is no pollution.

TATTOOING. This is very common among the Kōyas, for they take delight in tattooing their bodies. The Kōya women especially, decorate their bodies with various types of tattooing and the arms are particularly chosen for such decoration. Another object of tattooing is to mark off the totem of the particular group. Generally, the figure of the animal or bird most liked by the group is painted on the body. Thirdly, tattooing is resorted to for medical purposes in cases of rheumatism, the afflicted resorting to it as a sure remedy. The green juice, injected by means of rude piercing, is believed to be efficacious. Lastly,

tattooing is also considered as a sure means by which evil spirits are driven away. Scarcely does one see a Kōya without the marks of tattooing on his person.

LANGUAGE. The Kōyas living close to the plains speak both *Koi* and *Telugu* languages. The spoken *Koi* seems to be a dialect of *Gondi*. The spoken *Telugu* is vulgar. The Gutta-Kōyas of Bastar Agency speak the pure Kōya language. Their language has no written characters and the articulation is peculiar.

A list of words denoting relationship is given below :—

<i>Telugu</i>		<i>Koi</i>	<i>English</i>
తండ్రి;	Tandri =	అయ్య;	Ayya = Father
తల్లి;	Talli =	యవ్వ;	Yavva = Mother
అన్న;	Anna =	అన్న;	Anna = Brother (elder)
తమ్ముడు;	Tammudu =	అబ్బ;	Abba = Brother (younger)
కోడు;	Koḍuku =	పేక;	Pēka = Son
కూతుర;	Kūturu =	పేకి;	Pēki = Daughter
చెల్లెలు	Chellelu =	బుల్లి;	Bulli = Sister (younger)
అప్ప;	Appa =	అక్క;	Akka = Sister (elder)
అత్త;	Atta =	పోయ;	Pōyi = (Mother-in-law)
మామ;	Māma =	మామ;	Māma = Father-in-law
బావ;	Bāva =	బావ;	Bāva = Brother-in-law (elder)
మఱి;	Maṛadi =	అబ్బాయి;	Abbāyi = Brother - in - law (younger)
పెండ్లామఅన్న;	Pemdlāmu anna =	అన్న;	Anna = Wife's brother
పెండ్లామఅప్ప;	Pemdlāmu appa =	అప్ప;	Appa = Wife's sister
పిల్లఅత్త;	Pilla-atta =	అమ్మ;	Amma = Daughter's mother - in-law
పిల్లమామ;	Pilla-māma =	అయ్య;	Ayya = Daughter's father - in-law

The Kōyas of Godavari Agency say that they migrated from north-eastern part. This refers to Nizam's Dominions and Central India. The Kōyas regard themselves as divided into five sections and each is divided into several families. Members of different sections inter-marry but not members of the same section like the Chenchūs and Yānāndis. These Kōyas also have exagamous septs and they wear distinctive marks on their foreheads. The *Rācha* or *Dra-Kōyas* are considered to be superior to all sects. The *Bāsava-Gollas* are considered to be Kōyas by some English writers but the Chenchūs assert that they are *Gollas* that came into the Agency at the call of Krishna, their ancestor and tutelary god. (To be continued.)

THE KORNI COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF

Anantavarma Chodaganga

FIRST SET; Saka Samvat 1003.

By G. V. SITAPATI, B.A., L.T.,

In July 1924, a resident of Kornī, a village near Kalingapatam, Ganjam District, discovered, on digging up for the foundation of his house, a pot containing two sets of copper-plates carefully preserved in grain husks. He thought that the plates were too sacred to be removed from the place and intended to bury the pot again with the plates: but, my friend. Mr. Darlapudi Lakshminarayana Sarma of Polaki, a village near Kornī went there, secured the plates and kindly sent them to me.

The two sets contain grants made by Anantavarma Chōdagaṅga; both refer to Kornī and both are in Sanskrit. One of the two grants was made in Saka Samvat 1003 and it closely resembles the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of the same king made in the same year. The other was made in Saka Samvat 1034 and it closely resembles the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of the same king made in Saka Samvat 1040.*

THE FIRST SET contains 5 copper-plates, each measuring about 8" by 4". The first and the fifth are inscribed on one side only. The ring holding the plates is about 1" thick and 4" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the lower portion of a circular seal on which is fixed an image of the Nandi (bull couchant), about 1" long and 1" high. Round the Nandi, there are, in the surface of the disc, the figures of conch-shell, chowris etc., generally seen on the seals of other plates belonging to the Gāṅga kings. I cut the ring and detached the plates in order to take copies of them. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing. The inscription consists of 55 lines and is in a fair state of preservation.

THE ALPHABET employed belongs to the old Nāgarī type and the characters are exactly like those used in the Nadagām plates of Vajrahasta edited and published by my father, Mr. G. V. Ramamūrti in Ep. Ind. vol. IV. The points that call for notice in respect of orthography are as follows :—

1. The short i (1.40) and the long i (11.4 and 50) are not distinguished in writing.

* Vide Ind. Ant., vol. xviii. p. 165 ff.

2. *va* is everywhere used to denote *ba* (L.1,7,12,20,24,26,28,37,40,41,46, 50, and 51).
3. There is little or no difference between *da* and *da*. Compare for example, *dā* in L.1 and *ḍā* in L.5.
4. *La* is distinguished from *na* by a top line on the former; but, there is very slight difference between *rnna* (l. 13) and *rn̄na* (l. 47)
5. *na* is shown in two ways. Compare for example, the *na* in l.1 and the *na* in l.13 and 14, which is almost like the *na* of the modern Nāgari alphabet.
6. It is difficult, in some places, to distinguish, except with reference to the context, the *i* symbol on a consonant from the *ɛ* symbol. Observe for example, *ṭṛkutē* in L.42.
7. *n* is generally used with the guttural consonants; but, in some places, the anusvāra symbol is used for *n*. Compare for example *ganga* in L.30 and *gamga* in L.28; *Tōnengi* and *Tōnēngi* both in L.42.
8. *n* is generally used with the dental consonants; but, in one place the anusvāra symbol is used for *n*. Compare sandhi in L.54 and sandhi in L.50.
9. The *anusvāra* symbol is never used for *n* before the palatal or for *n* before the cerebral consonants.
10. In the case of *n̄cha* and *n̄chha*, the nasal symbol is placed after *cha* and *chha*. It is interesting to note that in one instance where *n̄cha* happens to be the very last letter in the last line of the second side of the 3rd plate, for want of space, *cha* is engraved there and the nasal *n̄* is engraved as the first letter of the next plate.
11. The *anusvāra* is generally used before the labial consonants and before *ga*, *ra*, *la*, *va*, *sa*, and *na*; but *m* is used in three places, viz., before *pa*, (l.52), *ba*, (l.20) and *va* (l.53)
12. The consonant after *r* is generally doubled as in *sarvva*, *vivarj-jita*, *āchandrarka*-all in l.35; but *ṣa* coming after *r* is not doubled. Note *varsha* in Ll. 13, 18, and 19
13. It is interesting to note the doubling of *bha* after *r* as in l.5 and 53, where *bhbh* is used for *bh*.
14. *s* is used for *ś* in Ll.40 and 50.
15. *j* is used for *jj* in *samjvala* (l.7). This mistake is noticed in all the Gānga and Ganga inscriptions where this word occurs.
16. *m* occurs at the end of a sentence in l.17. while an *anusvāra* is used at the end of sentences in Ll. 33, 49, 52, 55. But the *anusvāra* used in these places has a stroke under the *bindu*, which is not found in the case of an *anusvāra* that comes in the middle of a word or a sentence.
17. Due to carelessness, *m* is left out in L.51 and the *visarga* in L.44.

The *Language* of the inscription is, throughout, Sanskrit and is almost in prose. There are only five verses: one *vamsastha*, one *sragdharā* and three *anushtubh* slokas. The *sandhi* rules are not observed in the following cases:— हस्तः यो (L. 15), निरतेभ्यः त्रिः (l. 39) ब्रह्मणेभ्यः धारा (l. 40), आग्नेयतः वल्मीक (l. 43), पश्चिमतः ईषत् वक्रं (l. 44), पश्चिमतः वन (l. 46).

The absolute construction of the past participle is remarkable in “तत्पश्चिमतः ईषत् वक्रं गत्वा मरीचवृक्षपङ्क्ति” (L. 44). The use of तृकूटे (l. 42) तृकूटे (Ll. 45, 47), तृकूटं (L. 49) तृकूट (L. 51), is interesting. I do not find this word in any of the Sanskrit dictionaries. From the context, I think, it is used to denote a place where three boundaries meet. The word *muyyalikutu* is used five times in the Chellur plates of Kulōttunga II (vide *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 59, text lines 71, 74, 75, 76, 78). According to Brown's *Telugu and English Dictionary*, it is derived from *muḍu* (three) *ella* (a boundary) and *gutta* (a hill) and means a place where three boundaries meet.¹ तृकूट is probably, the word intended to be used as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Telugu word, *Muyyelagattu*.

I cannot say what tree is meant by मरीच occurring thrice (Ll. 43, 44, 45) among the boundaries of the village granted. It cannot be the pepper shrub. Could it be the Indian Fig tree, *Ficus Indica* or the pipal tree? गर्ता is another word the meaning of which is not very clear. From Apte's Sanskrit-English dictionary, we find that it means a hollow, hole, cave; but this word seems to have been used in this grant to mean a by way which is also a watercourse in the rainy season. The Telugu equivalent is *punta*.

अक्षशालि (L. 55) which ought to be अक्षशालि means a goldsmith or an engraver.²

The *Genealogical* list of the Gāṅga kings given in this grant agrees with what is given in the Vizagapatam plates of saka 1003 and 1057 and the several plates of Vajrahasta III.³

The list given in all these plates traces the genealogy from Gunārṇava who was succeeded by his son, Vajrahasta about 900 A.D. as calculated by the number of years each king since that Vajrahasta

1 I take this information from a note on *muyyalikutu* by Dr. Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.* vol. iv. p. 96.)

2 Vide note on this expression by Dr. Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.* vol. vii. p. 107 and vol. xvii p. 232.)

3 The Nadagam plates S. 979; The Narasipatam plates of S 967 (*Ep. Ind.* vol. iv p. 96) and The Chikkāvalaṣa plates of S 982 edited and published by Mr Mallampalli Somasekharasarma in *Bharati* vol. ii No. 2, a Telugu monthly Magazine Madras

is said in the plates to have reigned up to the date of the installation ceremony of Anantavarma Chōdaganga indicated in the *ślōka*. "*sākābde nanda randhra graha gana ganite*" According to Dr. Fleets' calculation, it is *Saturday*, 17th February, A.D. 1078.⁴ The Genealogical list of the Ganga kings given in the second set of the Kornī copper plates agrees with what is given in the Vizagapātām grant (*śaka* 1040) mentioned above. It traces the genealogy of the Ganga kings from the Creator and contains more details than are given in the grant of 1040 regarding the exploits of some of the kings. In my article on that grant, I shall express my views on the discrepancies between the two lists of the Ganga kings and on the identification of Kalinganagara.

The GRANT. This inscription records a grant of a village, known as Khōnna, made by Anantavarma Chodaganga on Sunday the 5th lunar day of the dark fortnight in the solar month of Mīna (Pisces) of S. 1003. This date corresponds to 2nd April 1082.⁵

Among the boundaries of the village granted, are mentioned five more villages, viz., Hōmbaravalli (-vēlli). Tōnēngi, Khōllēra, Tūluvu, and Gāra. The second set of the Kornī plates records a similar grant of a land in the vicinity of Khōnna, Tūluvu, and Gāra, made by the same king in *śaka* 1034; and a reference is also made to the grant of S. 1003 as well as to the six villages mentioned above. Khōnna may be identified with Kornī, the village where the two sets of plates were discovered; and the other villages mentioned in the plates, with the villages now in existence round about Kornī as shown in the following table:—

<i>Names mentioned in grant 1003.</i>	<i>Names mentioned in grant 1034.</i>	<i>Modern names</i>
Khōnna	Khōnna	Kornī
Hōmbaravalli (-vēlli)	Ombaravelli (-vēlli)	Omaravilli
Tōnēngi	Tōnēngi	Tōnangi
Khōllēra	Khōllira	Korlām
Tūluvu	Tūluvu	Tūlugu
Gāra	Gāra	Gāra

The recipients of the two grants were *Brāhmanas*. The first grant was made to three hundred *brāhmanas*, devoted to the six well known religious rites (*yajanādi shatkarma niralēbhyaḥ*) and the second to the *brāhmanas* who were residents of Khōnna (Kornī). At present, we do not find even a single *brāhmana* in any of the villages mentioned above. There are, however, many Kālingas who wear a sacred thread like the *dvijās* and have the *upanayana samskāra* performed, not

⁴ Vide *Ind Ant* vol xviii p 161 ff

⁵ For the corresponding Christian date I am indebted to the calculation made by Mr Nilamani Panigrahi of Parlakimedi

according to the *Vedic* but according to the *Purānic* rites. They have *gotras* like *Parāśara*, *Bhāradvāja* etc. Some of them have given up eating fish and flesh and look like the Telugu brahmanas in several respects. The worshippers (*archakas*) in *Madhukeshvarālaya* in *Mukhalingam* have been always members of some families among the *Kālingas*, who have surnames such as *Sura*, *Basava* etc. I think that among the *Kālingas* of the present day, they are the descendants of the *brahmanas* to whom the grants mentioned above were made by *Anantavarma Chōdaganga*.

TEXT 1

First plate, second side.

1. Om2. Svasti śrīmatam = akhilabhu³na vinuta nayavinayadaya-
dānadākshīnya satya.
2. śaucha śauryya dhairyyādi guṇaratna pavitrakēṇām = Ātrēyagōtrā-
nām.
3. vimalavichārāchāra puṇyasalila prakṣhālita kalikālakalmasha
mahsi
4. nām mahā Mahēndrāchala śikharapratishṭhitasya sacharāchara-
gurōh sakala
5. bhuvana nirmāṇaikaśūtradhārasya śaśāṅkachūdāmaṇēr - bhbha
gavatō
6. Gōkarnasvāminahprasādāt = samāsāditaikaśāṅkhabhēripāñchamahā
7. śabda dhavalachchhatra hēmaśāmaravaravṛshabhalāñchhana-
samuj⁴valasamastasāmṛā
8. jyamahimnām = anēkasamarasanghatṭa samupalabdhavijayalaksh-
mi samāli

Second plate, first side.

9. ngitōttunga bhujadaṇḍa maṇḍitānām trikalinga mahibhujām
gangā-
10. nām = anvayam = alankarishṇōr = viśhṇor = iva vikramākṛānta-
dharāmaṇḍalasya
11. Guṇamahārṇava mahārājasya putrah (o) Sri Vājrahastadēvaś =
chatus = cha-
12. tvārimśatam = abdakān kshitim = arakshit || tattanayō Guṇḍamarāja
va-
13. rehatrayam = apālayat || tadanu tadanujah Kāmārṇava dēvah pa-
nchatrimśadvarshānī || tasyānujō Vinayādītyah samās = tīśrah
14. || tatah Kāmārṇavatanayō Vajrahastah yō madagalitagandānga-
15. jān sahasram = arthibhyah samadāt sapanchatrimśatam = abdakān

Second plate second side.

17. || tatas = tadagrasunuh Kāmārṇavadevō = rtthasamām || tatas =
tadanujō

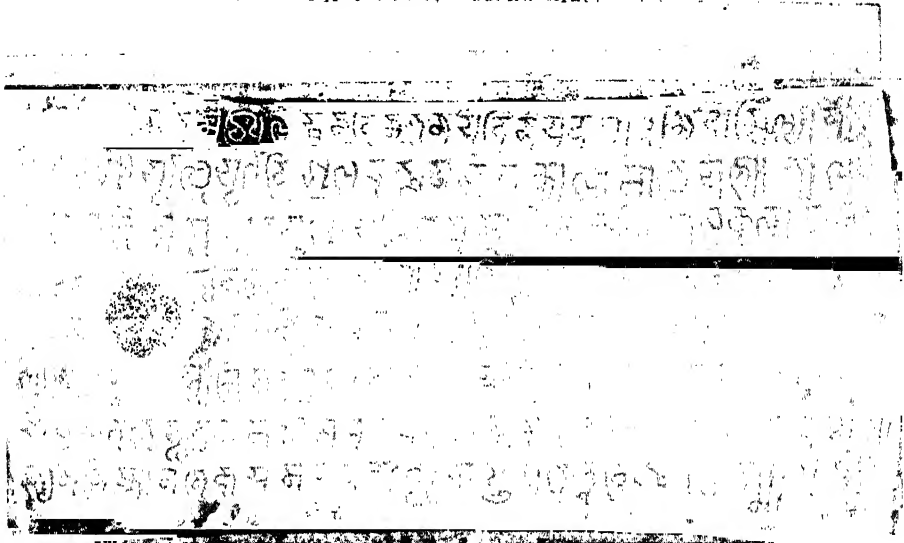
1 From the original plates 2 Denoted by a symbol 3 Read bhuvana 4 Read Samujjala 5 'hi' seems to have been first inscribed and then corrected as 'di'.

KORNI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGADEVA.

First Set.

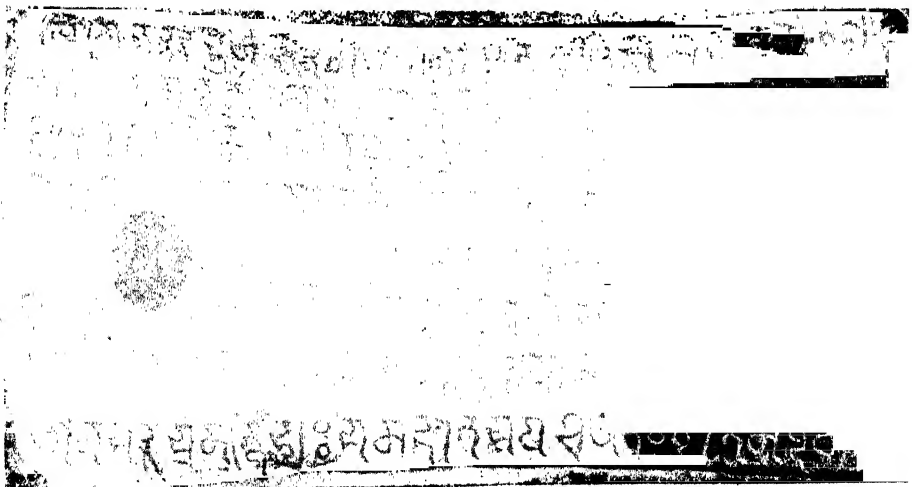
I b.

First Plate, Second Side.



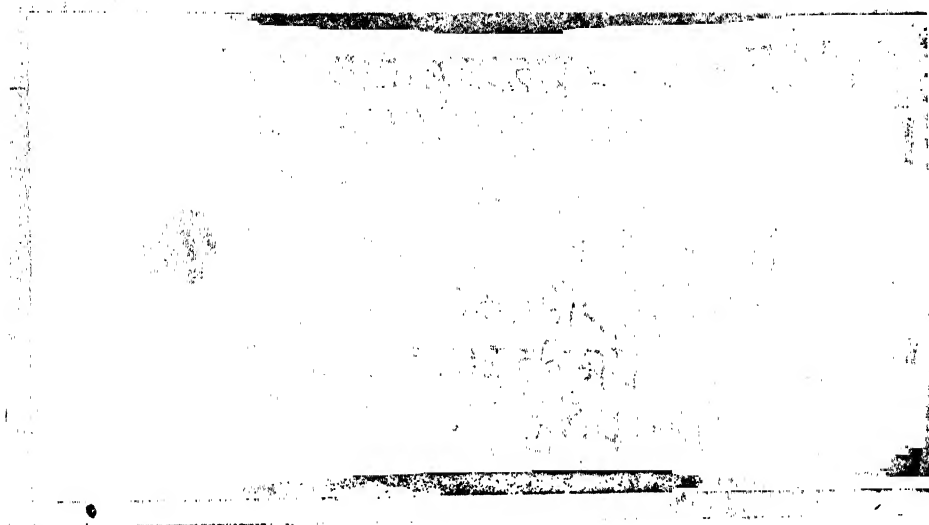
II a.

Second Plate, First Side.



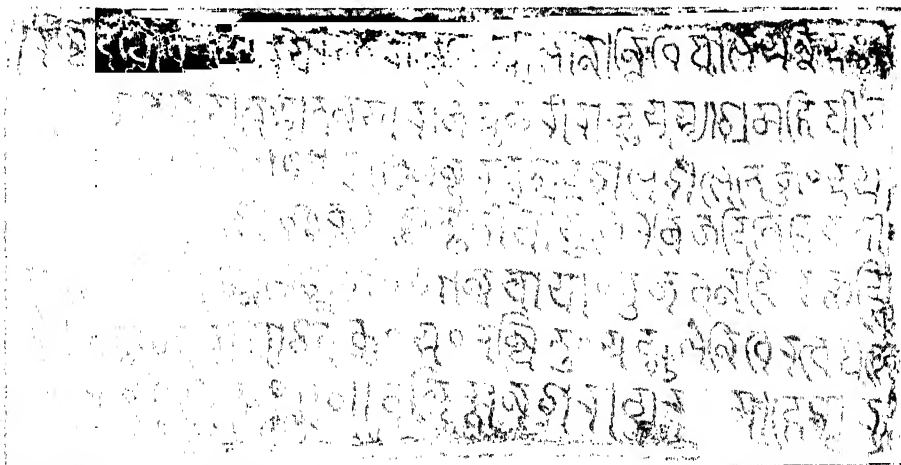
II b.

Second Plate, Second Side.



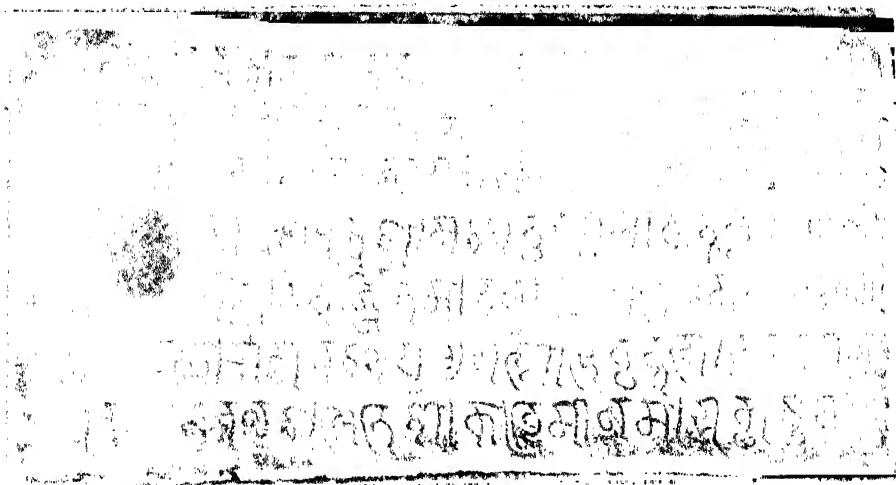
III a.

Third Plate, First Side.



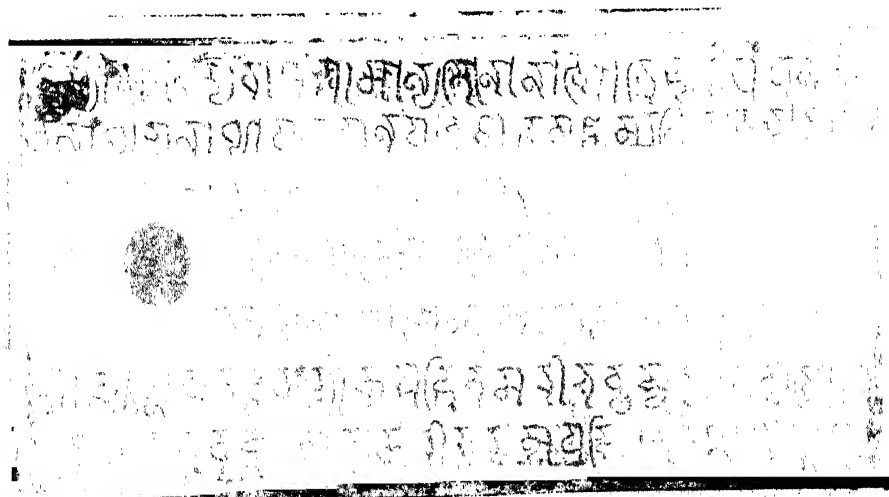
III b.

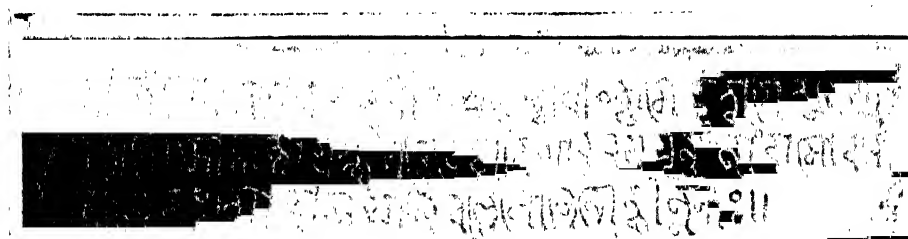
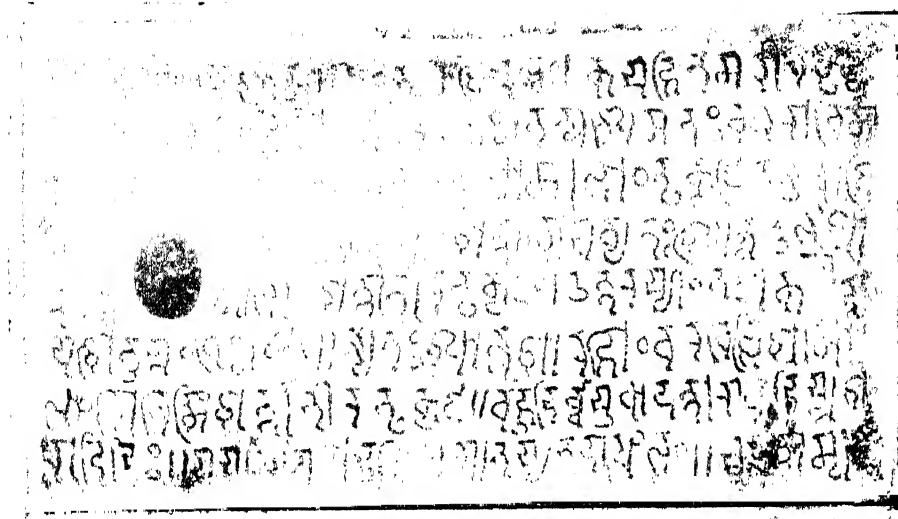
Third Plate, Second Side.



IV. a

Fourth Plate, First Side.





[By kind permission of Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Editor, Bharathi]

18. Guṇḍamahīpatis=trīṇivarshāni||tadanu tasyadvaimāturo Madhukā
 19. mārṇava ēkōnavimsāti varshāni || tatah Kāmārṇavād=vaidu-
 20. mbānvaya samudbhavāyām Vinayamahā dēvyām jātah Srī Vajra-
 21. hastadēvō yō divah patantam=atibhishanam=aśanim śastryā=bhi
 22. jaghāna sa trayas=trimśatam=abḍakān = avanim=apālayat 6
 tatas=tu tasyā-
 23. tmabhavō=rimarḍḍanas=sa Rājarāja kshitīpah kshitīm samāh ja
Third plate, first side.
 24. rakshad = aṣṭau varuṇālayāmbārān = nidhir=gguṇānān = nidhi
 pāla sannibhah ||
 25. 7 tatō Rājendra chōlaśya tanayā Rājasundarī rājnas=tasyā = gra
 mahiṣhī sa
 26. tī sutam=asūyata || 8 śakābdē nandarandhra graha gaṇa gaṇitē
 kumbhaśa
 27. msthē dinēsē śuklē pakshē trītiyāyuji raviḥa dinē rēvatī -
 28. bhē nryugmē lagnē gangānvavayāmbujāyanadinakrd=vi--
 29. śva viśvambharāyās = chakram samrakshitum sadgūṇanidhir=
 adhipaś chō
 30. ḍagangō=bhishiktah || o || Kalinganagarāt=parama mēhēsvara
Third plate, second side.
 31. paramabhaṭṭāraka mēhārājā dhirāja trikalīngādhipatīh śrī
 32. mad=Anantavarmma chōdagangadēvah kuśali samastāmātya pra-
 mukha ya-
 33. napadān=samāhuya samājnāpayati viditamastu bhavatām || Varā
 34. ha varttanyām Khōnnagrāmās chatuṣsimāvachhhinnas = sajala
 35. s=sarvvapidā vivarjītam=āchandrārka kṣhiti samakālam yā
 36. van=mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya yaśōbhi vrdhdayē || hara
 nayana-
 37. viyadgaganachandraganītē śakābdē minamāsa kṛṣṇa pacha 9
Fourth plate, first side.
 38. namyām=ādityavārē sāmānyatō nānā gōtrēbhyah yajana yā
 39. janādhyaysanadhyāpanadānaprtigrāha śaṭkarmma nīratēbhyahtri
 40. 10 sata brāhma nēbhyah dhārāpurvvakam = asmābhir=ddatta it
 asya
 41. grāmasya sīmālingāni likhyantē || purvvatah khōṇa hōmba-
 42. ravalli tōnēngi grāmāṇām trkūti tōnēngi grāmavakra ga-
 43. rtā | āgnēyatah valmikasahita maricha vṛkshah || tatpaśchima
 44. tah īśhat vakram gatvā marichavṛksha pankti 11 || tatah khōṇa
 tō
Fifth plate, second side.

45. nēngi khōllēra grāmāṇām trkūṭē valmikasahita maricha vṛksha-

6 Metre, vamsastha vṛttam, 7 Metre Sloka. 8 Metre Sragdhara vṛttam. 9 Pancha is written as pachna and for want of space na is shown in the next plate. 10 Read Ṣaṭa. 11 Read pankti.

46. h¹ dakṣiṇasyām diśi bṛhadvalmikah | tatpaśchimatah vanarājikā
 47. nair¹²tyām khōnnakhōllēratūlūvugrāmānām tṛkūte tanuvāpi-
 48. kā gartā cha | paśchimāyam garttā vāyayatah khōnna tūlūvu¹³
 gā
 49. ra grāmānām garttā tira tṛkūtam | uttarasyām tatākadva-
 50. ya sētu samdhih || ī s¹⁴ānyatah khōnnagārahōmbaravēlli ¹⁵ grāmā
 51. m tōnēngi garttā tṛ kuta || 16 bahubhir = vasudhā dat'ā rāja-
 bhis=saga
 52. rādhibhih || yasyayasya yādābhumis=tasyatasya ta ā phalam ||
 17 Svadattām=para
 • Fifth plate, first side.
 53. dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām | sa viśṭhāyām kṛmir=bh
 bhutvāpitṛbhis=sa
 54. ha pachyatē II mahākshāyastha Sandhivigrahi Māvuraya sununā
 Dāmōdarē-
 55. ṇa līkhitam | mahāksha 18 sāli Vallēmōjēnō=tkīrnn 19 am tah ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 11.) Om. The son of Guṇamahārnavā Mahārāja-
 who took possession of the circle of the earth by (his) valour, as
 Vishnu by (his) stride (and) adorned the race of the Gāngas; who were
 purified through (the possession of) precious virtues, extolled in the
 whole world such as political wisdom, modesty, kindness, charity,
 civility, truthfulness, purity, valour, and courage; who belong to the
 Atrēya gōtra; who had the stains of the impurities of the Kali age
 washed away by the holy water (viz. their) pure thoughts and deeds;
 who possess the glory of universal sovereignty resplendent with (the
 royal insignia/ viz. the unique conch shell, the drum, the five mahā-
 sabdās, the white parasol, the golden chowrie and the excellent bull-
 crest, through the favour of the divine Gōkarnasvāmi (Siva), who
 was established on the summit of the great mountain, Mahēndra, who
 is the lord of all the animate and inanimate world, who is the sole
 architect in the construction of the whole universe and who has on
 his head, the moon as an ornament; who were adorned with lofty
 staff-like arms which were embraced by the Goddess of Victory obtained
 in the conflict of many battles and who were the lords of the country
 of the Three Kalingas.

12 Read nairrtiyam. 13 vu in tuluva was first left out and later on
 inserted below. 14 Read isanya. 15 cf. hōmbarvalli in line 41. 16 17 Metre
 |Sokas 18 Read Sali 19 Read notkīrnnam.

(Ll. 11 to 16.) The illustrious Vajrahasta protected the earth for 44 years. His son, King Gundama reigned for 3 years. Then his younger brother, Kāmārṇava dēva (reigned) for 35 years (and) his younger brother, Vinayāditya for 3 years. Then, Kāmārṇava's son, Vajrahasta who gave away to applicants, a thousand elephants, whose temples were trickling with rut (reigned) for 35 years.

(Ll. 17 to 22). Then his eldest son, Kāmārṇava dēva (reigned for half a year. Then, his younger brother, King Gunda (reigned) for 3 years. Then, his maternal half-brother, Madhukāmārṇava (reigned) for 19 years. Then, there was born to Kāmārṇava by Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family, the illustrious King Vajrahasta who struck down with his sword, the most terrible thunderbolt as it fell from Heaven, reigned for 33 years.

(Ll. 22 to 24). Then, his son, King Rājarāja who was a destroyer of the foes, who was endowed with many good qualities and who was like Kubēra protected for 8 years, the earth surrounded on all sides by the sea.

(Ll. 24 to 26). Then Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājendra Chōla and the queen consort of the king (Rājarāja) bore (Rājarāja) a son.

(Ll. 26 to 30). King Chōdaganga who was (like) the sun to the collection of the lotus flowers of the Ganga race and who was endowed with many good qualities was, for the purpose of protecting the world, anointed king in the śaka year 999 denoted by the Nandas (9), apertures (9), planets (9), when the sun was in the Kumbha (Aquarius) on Saturday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight under the Rēvati star and during the Mithuna (Gemini) lagna.

(Ll. 30 to 33). From the city of Kalinganagara, the glorious Anantavarma (also known as) Chōdaganga, the devout worshipper of God Mahēsvara, Paramabhatāraka, the great king of kings, lord of Tri-kalinga being in good health, having called together all the subjects headed by the Amātyas, commands;—"Be it known to you all.

(Ll. 33 to 40) That for the advancement of the religious merit and fame of (my) mother, father and myself, the village of Khōṇna situated in Varāhavarṇani, enclosed by the four boundaries, has been, with all the waters (within the enclosed land) formally granted by us, free of taxes and all other molestations, in the śaka year, 1003, denoted by moon (1), sky (0), Siva's eyes (3), in the Solar month of Mina (Pisces), Sunday, the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight, to 300 Brāhmins of several gōtras, devoted to the six religious rites, viz. performing and conducting sacrifices, studying and teaching the Vēdas, and giving and accepting donations.

(Ll. 40 to 51). The boundaries of the village are given (as follows): To the east (lies) the winding watercourse of the village, Tōnēngi at the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khōṇna, Hōmb-arāvalli, and Tōnēngi. To the south-east (lies) a Marīcha tree by the side of an ant-hill to the west of which (there is) after winding a small curve, a row of Marīcha trees; (and) by the side of this, (there is) a Marīcha tree at the meeting place of the (three) villages Khōṇna, Tōnēngi, and Khōllēra. To the south, (there is) a big ant-hill, to the west of which (there is) a long row of trees. To the south-west (there are) a small reservoir of water and a watercourse at the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khōṇna, Khōllēra and Tuluvu. To the west (there is) a watercourse. To the north-west (there is again) a watercourse which touches the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khōṇna, Tuluvu and Gāra at the bank of the river, (Vamśadhāra). To the north, (there is) a causeway connecting two tanks. To the north-east, (there is) a watercourse of the village, Tōnēngi, which touches the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khōṇna, Gāra and Hōmbara vēlli.

(Ll. 51 to 54) (There are two of the usual imprecatory verses)

(Ll. 54 to 55). (This inscription) is composed by Dāmōdara, son of Māvuraya who is a Mahākhāyastha and Sandhivigrahi (and) is engraved by Vallēmōja, the famous engraver (goldsmith).

THE EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF KALINGA.

K. R. SUBRAHMANYAN, M.A.

The great contempt, in which Kalinga was held by the Mahabharatha and Brahmanical lawgivers like Baudhāyana, clearly shows it was essentially a country of Vratyas not following the Vedic path. Probably they were originally animists. The jungle population of Kalinga has always been animistic while the coastal and plain-folk have been influenced for good by superior faiths.

Brahmanism has been very slow in its progress in the land south of the Vindhya partly due to the obstruction caused by the mountain. Even this slow infiltration of northern culture must have taken place through the accessible strips of land on the east and west of the Vindhya. The lands on the Godavari and the Kistna being more attractive, Kalinga must have served chiefly as the route for the flow of brahmanism.

That Kalinga was brahmanical before becoming Buddhist is amply shown by the *Jataka* stories. The existence of the dynasties of Kumbhavati and Dantapura, the sailing of Vijaya to Ceylon on colonising and conquering expedition after banishment—narrated in the *Mahāvamsa*—and the mention of a war between the powerful Kalingas and the Assakas (of Paithan?) (*Jatakas* Vol. III) convey to us the impression that Kalinga was an old, large and strong kingdom. Volume II of the *Jatakas* relates the story that Kalinga-Raja after whom the land has taken its name sent brahmins to get a knowledge of the *Kuru* virtues to avert a big famine. Volume IV shows Kalinga-Raja's grand-son leaning towards Buddhism. The *Mahāvamsa* dates the landing of Vijaya, the beginning of Buddhism in Ceylon and the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, about the same time. The legends woven round Dantapura (the city of Buddha's tooth-relic) and Simhapura or Singapura, the story of whose origin is told in the Chronicle are mainly Buddhist and their antiquity is enough to establish the antiquity of Buddhism in Kalinga. These stories though they defy chronology are enough to show that Kalinga was originally brahmanical and then became Buddhist. Probably the cause for Vijaya's banishment was that he was a Buddhist.¹

The earliest historical reference to Kalinga is in the Asokan Inscriptions. His 13th Rock edict says "in Kalinga dwell brahmins and ascetics, men of different sects who all praise obedience to elders and teachers and kindness to slaves and servants." Men of different sects may include followers of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism.

¹ *Mahāvamsa*.

Some would make us understand that Kalinga was Jain as it was long under the anti-brahmanical Nandas whose jain-remains probably are found now in Nandapur in Jeypore and that Asoka who was a devotee of Siva first and a descendant of one who ostensibly overthrew the Nandas to protect the Brahmin and the Veda, fought with Kalingas on religious grounds. But the only certain evidence, the Asokan Inscriptions, speak of men of different sects, brahmins and ascetics and exhort the officials to lead the people in the right way meaning thereby that they, specially the borderers, were not following the right path. Whatever its religion, Kalinga must have been very powerful to fight such a bloody battle as to cost thousands of lives. Megasthenes gives us the same impression of Kalinga after the overthrow of Nanda rule, "The war, in leading to the conversion of Asoka who propagated Buddhism as far as Greece, is one of the most decisive events in the history of the world. The high kingly ideals and the right path described in a vivid manner can be read even today in the imperishable pillars of Jaugada and Dhauli, the mere possession of which has made Kalinga sacred to the historian, as the Kalinga war has made it sacred to every Buddhist" (Smith : Asoka.)

After the death of Asoka, Kalinga asserted itself again and the Chetiyas or Chaitras were its rulers. One of them Kharavela, the third in the line (about 158 B.C.) has left us a difficult inscription at Udayagiri. This inscription gives us a vivid picture of Kalinga—its religion, administration and political power. The conqueror of Berar and Magadha and the preserver of local self-government, Kharavela was a patron of religion and learning. The salutation to the *Arhats* and the *Siddhas* at the beginning of the inscription would make us believe that he was a Jain, but for the later mention of his *Rajasūya* and other sacrifices. His grants to Jain professors, his jewelled doors to a Jain temple and caves for *Sramanas* to meet in assembly show his inclination to Jainism. But he was impartial in patronage since he gave lands to the caste-assembly of brahmins also, (Vol. 49 Ind. Ant.). Thus Kalinga culture was a complex compound of Animism, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Curiously enough, none of them was completely superseded at any time.

From the days of Kharavela till the time of later Gangas (8th Century A. D.) Kalinga is in the dark. The Vākātakas once expanded as far as Kalinga, the Vishnukundins of Vengi, related to them by marriage, had certainly extended their power beyond *Ramatirtham* and the Kesari dynasty of Orissa might have been another check on Kalinga. Harsha's power extended as far as Ganjam against which he sent his last expedition. By this time the Gangas had established themselves in Kalinga and though we have a definite chronology only for the later Gāngas from the 8th century, it is undoubted that there was the Ganga family even earlier.

This period covering the 1st 7 centuries of the Christian era is a period of religious Bauddha culture sending off shoots to far off Ceylon and Java succeeded by Jaina culture which has left its remains side by side with the Buddhist, in hills and caves. The caves small and big on the Udayagiri and Khandgiri hills belong to the early Buddhist period while the remains at *Sālihundām*, *Rāmātirtham* and *Sankaram*² so eloquent about a highly advanced culture belong to the later Buddhist period. There must be many more Chaityas and Viharas but for the work of wind and weather. By about the 7th century, Buddhism declined and Jainism lodged itself in some of the Buddhist buildings. In a century or two, Brahmanism began to revive slowly driving the two religions to the wall.

A moment's attention bestowed on the remains opens a new vista in Andhra Kalinga history. At *Salihundam* there was a fine apsidal-ended brick chaitya with a large image of Buddha and by its side a number of brick stupas reared their heads. The surrounding view from the hill is very fine and for some miles all round, the buildings on the hill must have presented an imposing appearance inculcating in the minds of the people the high ideals which their inmates pursued. *Ramātirtham*, sacred to Buddhists, Jains and Hindus in succession, has some pleasant spots where the cool breeze from the sea will cure all bodily and mental ills. What better place can be had for a monastery? The ruins on the *Gurubhaktakonda* are those of a Vihara, once busy with a hundred monks studying the stars, testing the qualities of herbs, or scanning the heavens with their minds. The remains of stupas, and chaityas with a number of cells and a graceful stone statue of Buddha and the Jain images which had usurped the place of the Buddhist and the traditions about the inevitable *Panchapāndavas* and *Rama* and *Sita* who had made sacred every foot of ground there—bespeak the wonderful adaptability of our people and the unbroken continuity of our history.

Now to *Sankaram*³ which is also held sacred by the Hindus. The biggest of the monasteries was found here. If we remember that every monastery had a school and possessed expert religionists, philosophers and disputants, we can understand its great intellectual importance to the country. Besides serving as the moral guides to the people, they must have been powerful intercessors with the king.

² Kalinga proper covered roughly only the present day Ganjam District. But from the days of Asoka, Kalinga has been taken to mean the land as far as the Godavari. So historically Vizagapatam District belongs to Kalinga rather than to Andhra.

³ Sankaram is a corrupt form of the word Sangharama a term which denotes a Buddhist monastery. It lies two miles to the west of Anakapalli on the N. E. line of the M. & S. M. Railway in the Vizagapatam District.—Ed.

whenever necessary for the people's good, commanding as they did the great confidence of the kings as selfless, saintly and learned persons. Their meetings and rules of business also must have been an example to the local corporations referred to as early as the time of Kharavéla. The articles found and the number of cells, indicate that the monastery at *Sankaram* was a very big one. A number of dagobas and rockcut caves with archaic sculptures are additional features. A number of coins of the 7th century and a gold coin of Samudragupta that have been found here throw some light on the date of the building.

Three miles N. W. of Simhachalam there are the remains of a stupa. There are beautiful illustrations of Buddhist legends in the temples of *Mukhalingam* belonging to the 9th century showing the influence of Buddhism as late as that period. Till now more Buddhist than Jain remains have come to light which clench the argument further that Kalinga culture and Andhra culture also have absorbed a good deal from Buddhism. (Madras Arch. Reports 1907—11 and 1919—20.)

Buddhism declined first. There are references in the Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions to Jains and their temples and not to Buddhists. Moreover, Hiuen Tsang remarks about the decline of the religion. Kalinga had 10 *Sangharamas* with 500 priests and 100 Deva temples with different sorts of unbelievers most of whom were *Nir-granthas* (i.e., Jains). In a century, Jainism followed Buddhism. These religions had degenerated and the neo-brahmanism had incorporated in it the essentials of the two religions. Their principles, their style of building and sculpture, their method of worship have passed into brahmanism and into the culture of Andhra and Kalinga.⁴

There are a number of grants from the early Ganga Kings of Kalinga which indicate the beginning of the revival. They were devotees of *Gokarnesvara* of *Mahendragiri*. All the grants which have come down to us are made to brahmins. The absence of even a single Buddhist or Jaina grant is strong evidence of the royal patronage of Brahmanism. Besides royal patronage, the revival in the north and in the south about this period must have had its effect, faint it might be, on Kalinga. The chronology of these early Gangas who had their capital at Kalinganagara has not yet been settled.⁵

The later Gangas (beginning from the 8th C. A. D.) were also worshippers of Siva and builders of the temples of *Madhukesa*, *Rajarajeswara*, *Mukhalinga*, *Jagannatha* etc, and must have accepted the decline of Buddhism and Jainism. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the influence and example of the cholas who held hegemony over Kaling for more than a century must have been in the same direction.

4 (Beal: Budh. Records).

5 Ep. Ind. vol IV. and Ind. Ant. vols. 13, 14 and 15.

REVIEW OF JOURNALS.

Bharati.

In the *Ashāṭha* issue of the Bharathi, Mr. M. Somasekharasarma edits, in an able and exhaustive manner, the Kollipara Copper plate grant of Emperor Sadasiva Raya, the last of the Vijayanagara sovereigns. The inscription is inscribed on seven copper plates, each measuring 8" by 11½. The ring was not cut when the plates reached Mr. Sarma. The language is Sanskrit poetry and the script, Nandi-nāgari. The inscription records that Sadasiva Raya, made a grant of the village called Kollipara, to several brahmins of Velanādu, of various *gotras* *sutras* and *śakhās* on Tuesday, the Sixth day (Kapila shashti) of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, when the star was *Rohini* and the *yōga*, *Vyātipāta* in the year *Sobhakrit*, Saka 1445, which corresponds to Tuesday, 18th September 1543 A.D., as a *ganabhoga* and *sarvamanya*, with the eight *bhogas*, and all the rights pertaining thereto, with absolute rights of sale, gift and mortgage, while he was in the *Tulasivana* in the temple of Viṭṭalaswamin on the banks of the Tungabhadra, at the request of Kōnēti Timmarāju. *Ganabhoga*, Mr. Sarma translates as something "fit for enjoyment of the *Brahmana* *saṅgha* or *gana*. The donees of this gift including one Bhāgavatula Rāmayya are 233 in number while the *Vrittis* granted are only 200. The village of Kollipara has been identified by Mr. Sarma with the village of the same name, in Tenali Taluka, Guntur District. At the time of the grant the village was renamed as Sadāsivarāyapura, but it never seems to have become popular. The grant is said to have been made on *Kapila Shashti* which according to Mr. Sarma, must fall in the month of Bhādrapada, under the following conditions. The *Shashti* thithi should fall in the dark half of the Bhādrapada, the Sun being in star *Hasta*, the Moon in *Rohini*, the *yoga* being *Vyātipāta*, the week-day falling on Tuesday, and above all any one of the preceeding months of the year having been an *adhika māsa*. Such a day is called *Kapila Shashti*, and is considered to be an auspicious occasion for making donations. In Saka 1465, the month of Sravana, happened to be an *adhika māsa*, and therefore all the requisite conditions were fulfilled in the year *Sobhakrit*, when the gift in question was made.

Kōnēti Timmarāju, at whose instance the gift is said to have been made, was the ruler of Avuku at that time. He was a grand-son of Araviti Bukka Raja I. His family came to be known as *Avukuvaru* ever since the time of his ancestor Timmarāju became the chief of Avuku. Avuku (Owk) was once a strong fortress in Koilkuntla Taluk, Kurnool Dt. lying 12 miles to the west of Koilkuntla and local tradition

assigns to Timmaraju the construction or improvement of the fortress in 1463 A. D. Aliya Rāma, otherwise known also as Rāmaraya the *de-facto* ruler of Vijayanagara Empire in the name of Sadasiva, was a close relation of Timmaraju. Aliya Rāma's father Sri Ranga, and Kōnēti Timmaraju's father Timmaraju were brothers and sons of Rāmarāju, son of Araviti Bukkaraja. Mr. Sarma refers only to two other inscriptions of Kōnēti Timma as having been discovered till now, one in Vittala Temple in Hampi dated Saka 1466, *Krothin* (Ep. Col. No. 12 of 1904) and the other recording the construction of a tank in Atmakūru in Nellore District in Saka 1471, *Nala*. Kōnēti Timmarāju is said to be a great patron of learning. Rāmarāju Rangapparāju, author of *Sāmbopakhyanam* a Telugu Prabhandā, lived in his court. The book itself was dedicated to Timmaraja. Timmaraju's grand-father also, was a great patron of Telugu letters, being the recipient of a dedication of *Balabhadgavata* (in *dwipada* metre) by Dōnūri Kōnērunatha Kavi.

The inscription was composed by Sabhāpati Swayambhuvu under the command of Sadasiva Raya ; it was inscribed on the plates by Viranāchārya, son of Virana. Mr. Sarma observes that almost all the inscriptions of Sadasiva Raya were composed and engraved by these two persons only.

The text of the inscription which is in 360 lines appears in the *Sravana* part of the Bharathi. As usual the grant is signed "*Sri Virupaksha*" in Tel-kannada script.

Another article of historical interest in the *Sravana* issue is a graphic account of the archaeological remains on Gurubhaktakonda near Ramatirtham, not far from Vijayanagaram, in Vizagapatam District, by Mr. K. Narasimhachari. The article is profusely illustrated. Pictures of the elevation of the hill, general plan of the monastery and situation of the several caves on it, are beautifully printed.

Mahabharatham.

In the *Jyestha-Ashadha* number of the Journal of the Andhra Sāhitya Parishad, Pandit Pendyala Subrahmanyasastry, contributes an exhaustive criticism on the Sanskrit Mahābhāratha from various points of view. His views and theories are highly controversial. A separate note on it will be appended in this Journal next time.

EXCHANGES.

1. Bharathi (Telugu Monthly of Madras.) For *Ashadha* & *Sravana*.
2. Journal of the Andhra Sāhitya Parishad. *Jyestha-Ashadha*.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1925—26.
OF
THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

*Submitted at the Annual General Meeting held on 26-3-1926,
in Hindu Samaj Buildings.*

The Secretary presented the following report :—

The Council of the society have great pleasure in submitting the report of the society's work during the year 1925-1926. Though only six months have elapsed since the last annual meeting was held on 30-8-1925, the Council submits this report now, as under the new rules, the annual general meeting has to be held in this month as the official year for the society expires by the end of March 1926.

At the last annual meeting held on 30-8-1925 the Council placed on record the report of the work of the society during the past four preceeding years. At that time it became necessary to re-organise the society and not a little credit is due to the inestimable labour and zeal of our energetic Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., who spared no pains in improving the society.

At the last annual meeting, a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. V. Rangacharya, R. Subbarao, A. Sankararao and B. V. Krishnarao was appointed, the last mentioned as the convener, to revise the existing rules with reference to the draft constitution prepared and submitted by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, and the committee submitted the revised rules which were adopted by the general body with certain modifications at a special meeting held on 14-2-1926. In that meeting it was also resolved that the society should be registered under India Act XXI of 1860, and a Quarterly Journal of Research, published at an early date. Members of the society were therefore addressed on these matters and the response was satisfactory. At a meeting held on 10-3-26 the Council nominated Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao to be the Editor of the Journal, and an Editorial Committee with Messrs J. Ramayya Pantulu, M. Ramakrishna Kavi and M. Soma-sekhara Sarma, as members of the Editorial Committee. At the same time, the Council also requested Mr. B.V. Krishnarao and Mr. R. Subbarao to go to Madras and other places to interview all those interested in the cause of the society, to solicit help and to collect contributions. Their work particularly in Madras, is very encouraging. Several scholars in high position have readily expressed their willingness to support the Society. The council has great pleasure in announcing that the Hon'ble Sir A. P. Patro, Minister of Education, has kindly promised to advance the cause of the society in every way. Further the society

is particularly fortunate in being able to obtain the generous support of the Maharajah of Pithapuram, who has graciously consented to be the patron of the society. This is chiefly due to the inestimable efforts of the learned President Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu B.A., B.L., who has been doing much to advance the cause of the society. Mr. K. Nageswararao Pantulu, Editor of the *Bharathi*, a Telugu illustrated monthly literary miscellany of Madras, has been kind enough to send us his journal free of cost from its start. In this town itself Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu B.A., B.L. to whom the society owes much more than to any body else, has also promised liberal support.

One gratifying feature of the year is that membership rose from 50 to 70. We are glad that several local gentlemen have begun to take greater interest in the activities of the society and as a result the number of resident members has gone up by 13; and to-day we have on our rolls as many as 30 resident members. Regarding mof-fusil membership, while there were only 30 non-resident members last year, we have today 40. The council takes this opportunity to appeal to all the members, especially in the-moffusil, to bring in more of their friends into the society and thus widen its activities.

MEETINGS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES.

During the year, the society held three general meetings, one to adopt the new rules of the constitution and two, for holding public lectures. Prof. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, B.A., M.R.A.S. delivered a lecture on the "Development of the Telugu language" and Prof. V. Rangacharya, M.A., L.T., gave a lecture on "South India in the Prehistoric Age". There were good audiences for both the lectures and the members highly appreciated them. The Council also held three business meetings during the year to pass accounts, to admit new members and to transact the other work of the society.

Several members of the society were active during last year, in carrying on research work. Mr. C. Veerabhadrarao Pantulu has been publishing the results of his investigations into the moot question of the origin of Andhras, in the *Sarada* and *Bharathi*, two leading Telugu monthly journals. His articles have already provoked much thought and discussion in the Andhradesa. Mr. C. Narayanarao M.A., L.T. has been at work at two new important copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayaditya VII of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty and one copper-plate inscription of Sura Mahipathi, a feudatory chief of the Kakatiyas of Warangal. His monographs on the inscriptions are ready for publication. Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu, B.A., M.R.A.S., has been at work with the History of the Kalinga and Ramayana, the results of which are being published in several research journals. Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has edited three new copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the

Salankayanas, Early Eastern Chalukas and the Later Eastern Gangas respectively in the *Bharathi*. Mr. G. V. Sithapathi, B.A., L.T., of Rajah's College, Parlakimedi edited two new copper-plate inscriptions of the Eastern Ganga kings in the same journal. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi has collected several sanskrit and prakrit manuscripts and is editing Bharatha's *Nāṭya Sastra* in 4 volumes for the Gaekwad's Oriental series. Besides he has been contributing several original articles on various subjects to some of the leading research journals. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao has carefully studied the antiquities of Mukhalingam, the ancient Kalinganagara and published an account of his results in the *Bharathi*. Mr. R. Subbarao M.A., L.T. continued to collect much interesting information about the life and habits, religion and folklore of the Chenchus and Koyas, the aboriginal tribes in the agency tracts. He has also collected nearly 50 new coins relating to the Sathavahana and other early dynasties. His notes await publication. Besides, there are several more members of the society who have been carrying on research work and our earnest hope is to publish these results in our own journal which is expected to come out shortly.

Some members of the society including our revered President prepared estampages of several new stone inscriptions found in this and other places and the result of their work also awaits speedy publication. This year, too, the society will depute some of its members as it did last year to read papers relating to their respective fields of research work before the Fourth All India Oriental Conference which will hold its sessions at Allahabad in December 1926.

JOURNAL.

For want of an official organ of the society, the members are publishing the results of their work in the *Bharathi* and other journals. The necessity for a journal in English for the society has long been keenly felt, and therefore it has now been decided to publish our own Quarterly Journal, from April next. Several contributions for the Journal have been received already and those who are responsible for the publication of the journal have been actively engaged in trying to bring out the journal before the end of April. It is hoped that with the active co-operation of all the members, the journal will be a success ere long.

KALINGA SANCHIKA.

Preparations for the publication of the Kalinga Sanchika and the celebration of the Kalinga Day are, we are glad to report, nearly complete. Already, a large number of valuable contributions from various scholars have been received by us and many more that were promised are expected to reach us very soon. As soon as they are also received, the printing of the Sanchika will be commenced. We

earnestly appeal to all those who are interested in the History of Kalinga to send in their contributions as early as possible and co-operate with us in every way so as to expedite the event.

CONCLUSION.

We cannot close this report without mentioning the great help which the Society continues to receive at the hands of several Local Boards and Educational Officers who have been good enough to purchase copies of our "*Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika*" for the institutions under their control. This has made our financial position satisfactory and even encouraging, and it is earnestly hoped that similar help will be extended to the forthcoming Journal and Kalinga Sanchika. With the kind munificence of our noble and enlightened Patron, the Maharaja of Pithapuram and under the able guidance of our revered President, the objects of the society, will, we hope, be fully realised.

With a prayer to the All-Merciful to shower His choicest blessings upon our society, we present this, our report for the year.

(Sd.) R. SUBBARO, M.A., L.T.

Secretary.

APPENDIX.

Statement of receipts and disbursements from 16-8-1295 to 26-3-1926,

No. Receipts.	Rs.As.P.	No. Charges	Rs.As.P.
1. Last year's balance	83 7 0	1. Postage	26 0 6
2. Subscriptions	57 0 0	2. Travelling expenses	12 0 0
3. Sale of books	35 3 0	3. Printing	47 14 0
		4. Peon's pay	8 0 0
		5. Almyra hire	8 0 0
		6. Miscellaneous	5, 13 0
		7. Balance	66 14 6
Total...	<u>174 10 0</u>	Total...	<u>174 10 0</u>

N.B.—The Society has 37 bound volumes costing Rs. 185 and 274 unbound volumes of *Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika* worth Rs. 822. It has also to realise Rs. 25 from the members by way of subscriptions and Rs. 25 as arrears to be collected on sale of books.

(Sd.) A. SANKARARAO, B.A., L.T.

Treasurer.

**Proceedings of the fifth annual general meeting of the
Andhra Historical Research Society.**
Held on 26-3-1926 at 7 A.M. in the Sarada Reading Room, Rajahmundry
M.R.Ry. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu garu, B.A., B.L., in the Chair.

PRESENT.

Messrs.

N. K. Venkatesam, M.A., L.T.
V. Rangachariar, M.A., L.T.
V. Jaganadha Rao, M.A., L.T.
R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T.
B. Lakshminarayana Sastry, M.A.
A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.
C. Veerabhadra Rao.

Messrs.

N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.
B. Sivaramayya.
D. Sambasiva Rao.
C. V. Hanumantha Rao, B.A.
V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.
S. Bhimasankara, Rao B.A.
B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.
D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T.

1. The Secretary, M. R. Ry R. Subba Rao garu, M.A., L.T., presented the fifth annual report of the society for the year 1925—1926. The Treasurer, M.R.Ry A Sankara Rao garu, B.A., L.T. presented the accounts and the balance sheet for the year.
2. The Secretary proposed that the words "Assistant Secretary" be changed into Joint Secretary". Seconded by M.R.Ry. V. Rangachariar Avl. Resolution Lost.
3. Proposed by the Secretary that the Society should elect Hon Presidents and Hon. Vice-Presidents. Seconded by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. Resolution Carried.

The following were then elected as Hon. Presidents ; -

The Hon'ble The Raja of Panagal, Chief Minister, Govt. of Madras
The Hon'ble Sir A.P. Patro, Minister for Education. do
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Ramesam, B.A., B.L. do
Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University
Mr. C. R. Reddi, M.A., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University
Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.

The following were elected as Hon. Vice-Presidents:—

Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu Garu, B. A. M. R. A. S.
Mr. K. Nageswara Rao.

4. Proposed by Mr. R Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and carried unanimously that the Maharaja of Pittapur be elected as the first Patron of the society.
Resolved further that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Maharaja of Pittapur for giving his kind permission to elect him as the first patron.

5. Proposed by Mr. C. Narayana Rao and carried finally that the following be elected as office bearers for the year 1926-1927.

<i>President</i>	M. R. Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
<i>Vice-President</i>	" V. Rangachariar Avl., M.A., L.T.
<i>Secretary</i>	" R. Subba Rao Garu, M.A., L.T.
<i>Asst. Secretary</i>	" B. V. Krishna Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.
<i>Treasurer</i>	" N. Kameswara Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.

<i>Members of Council</i>	{	<i>Messrs.</i> C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T.
		" C. Virabhadra Rao.
		" M. Rama Krishna Kavi, M.A.
		" V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

A public meeting of the society was held on 26-3-1926 at 6 P.M. in the Hindu Samaj Hall under the Chairmanship of M.R.Ry. N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L. Several members of the society and the public attended.

Mr. Chilukuri Veerbhadra Rao, author of "the History of Andhras" delivered a lecture on the "Origin of the Andhras" and held the view that they belonged to the Aryan stock.

Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. read an address on the "Andhra Coinage and its value" and exhibited several lead coins of the Andhra kings collected by him from several centres.

(Both the addresses will be published in the Journal.)

A public meeting of the Society was held on 27-3-1926 at 6 P.M. in the Hindu Samaj Hall when M.R.Ry. N. Subramanyam Ayl., M.A., L.T., delivered a lecture on "Modern Geography and its National Importance".

MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

I Proceedings of the Managing Council meeting held on 9-5-1926.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen be admitted as members.

1 D. Sambasiva Rao	10 S. Narasimha Rao
2 M. Subbarayudu	11 V. S. Sastri
3 K. Ramakotiswara Rao	12 T. Sivasankara Sastri
4 C. V. Hanumanta Rao	13 A. Bapiraju
5 V. Appa Rao	14 I. Velkataramanayya
6 S. S. Setlur	15 S. Narasimhasastry
7 Somasundra Desikar	16 S. Nagabhushanam
8 Gauripati Rao	17 S. Hanumanta Rao
9 N. Krishna Rao	18 S. Roy

2. Resolved that the accounts from 14-2-1926 to 9-5-26 be passed.
3. Resolved that the estimate tendered by the Saraswathi Power Press, Rajahmundry for the printing of the Society's Journal be accepted.
4. Resolved that the following be appointed as the Editorial Committee for the Kalinga Sanchika:—

Mr. R. Subba Rao, Editor.	} Members.
„ C. Narayna Rao	
„ V. Appa Rao	
„ B. V. Krishna Rao	

5. Resolved that a sum of Rs. Three only be sanctioned temporarily for 6 months toward the payment of rent for the Society.

II Proceedings of the Managing Council passed by circulation on 2-7-1926.

1. Resolved that the accounts from 9-5-1927 to 2-7-1926 be passed.
2. Resolved that the following members be admitted into the society.
 - (1) Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastry. High Court Vakil, Madras.
 - (2) Mr. B. Appa Rao, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry.
3. Resolved that the resignation tendered by the Assistant Secretary Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao be accepted.
4. Resolved that Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao be thanked for the services he rendered as Assistant Secretary.

THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY
RAJAHMUNDRY

Vol. 1, Part 2.

Oct. 1926.

REPRINT

KING NANYADEVA ON MUSIC.

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

Sarangadeva, the author of Sangīta Ratnākara, mentions one Nanyadeva among prominent writers on music:—

इन्द्रो नान्यमूलो भोजभुवहस्तथा (I—12)

In my studies of Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata's Nāṭya sāstra (Science of Theatrics), I attempted to procure and go through every work on Nāṭya if available anywhere. In the reports of Dr. Bühler on the research of mss. in Gujarat,* a copy of Bharatabhāṣya was recorded as available in Kathiawar. It was ascertained after long trial that the ms. was missing. Dr. Aufrecht seems to have considered Bharatabhāṣya as a commentary on Bharata's Gīṭāṅkara. Fortunately I was able to trace out another copy of it in the library of the Bhandarkar's Institute itself. Dr. Belvalkar was approached for the loan of the ms. and I am very deeply indebted to him for his kind lending of the ms. until I could examine the whole work and take a copy of it. It is a versified commentary of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra from Ch. xxviii to xxxiv, which portion deals with music in all its aspects related to theatre. The copy of the institute contains only fifteen chapters while the author promises to treat Vāchikamśa in 17 chapters. Perhaps the other copy at Kathiawar, which is now lost might have been complete. The first sheet of this copy though it contains the beginning does not seem to belong to this work, but decidedly to some other work later by two or three centuries. Some sheets are missing here and there and

*Vide Jassikulya IV pp. 274.

the original from which this was copied might perhaps be defective and imperfect. The copyist also could not read his original properly. The work as found consists of about 7000 grāṇthas. The remaining two chapters which deal with prosody and prakṛit languages in relation to stage cannot exceed 3000 grāṇthas.

The colophons generally read:—

इति श्रीमहासामन्ताधिपति धर्मावलोक श्रीमन्नान्यपतिविरचिते
सरस्वतीहृदयालंकारहारनन्नि भरतवार्तिके वाचिकांशे (or) भरतभाष्ये...॥

Thus the work is called Bharatabhāṣya or Bharatavārtika. We know that Rāṅgulaka and Sriharshā wrote vārtikas each separately and no work is yet specifically known as Bharatabhāṣya. Abhinava calls his commentary a vivṛiti or sometimes vṛitti, but really it deserves the name of bhāṣya. Nānyadeva designates his work as Sarasvatihṛdayāṅkara and the appellation instantly reminds one of Sarasvatī kāṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhojadeva who applied this name to his works on grammar, music and alankara, as well as to his palace at Dhārā.

With regard to Nānya we shall know what the author has to say of himself. In course of discussion of theories he gives his own opinions under Nānyapati, Nānya, Mahāsamantaādhipati, Dharmavaloka, Dharmādhārābhūpati, Mithileśvara¹ and Karpātakulābhūṣhana. This practice of authors citing their surnames when a siddhānta has to be stated is common among the Sūtra writers. He was the brother of Kīrtirāja², and he defeated the heroes of Souvira¹ and Maṭavā¹ and broke up the power of Gauda and Bangala kings³. He probably married a Gūrjara lady³. He bore the titles of Rājānārāyaṇa², Nripamalla¹, Mohanamurāti¹, Pratyagravāṇipati⁴ &c. He has quoted once from his own work called 'Grandhamahārṇava⁵. These references are available in his work and we have to seek the help of history to determine his time and place. Mr K.P. Jayaswal, M.A.

- 1 (a) मल्लारं नृपमल्लमोहनमुरारतिर्वदत्युक्तः (b) तामाचष्टे माथुरं मैथिलेन्द्रः
(c) धर्मलोकः कथयति जगद्भाषणा दाक्षिणात्यां
(d) हास्यशृङ्गारयोराह पञ्चमीमध्यमोद्भवाम् । लुप्तमालवभूपालकीर्तिर्मालवपञ्चमीम् ॥
(e) षड्जमध्यासमुद्भूतः शृङ्गारो स्मरदेवतः । जितसौवीरवीरेण सौवीरक उदाहृतः ॥
(f) बाङ्गालीकोते कथिता मिथिलेश्वरेण ।
(g) यत्रानुरागं सम्यक्क्रियते मुक्तपाणिना । मुक्तमाह प्रहारं तं कर्णाटकुलभूषणः ॥
- 2 (a) जयति स नृपतिः कीर्तिराजानुजन्मा ।
(b) एवं प्राप्तयेऽयुक्तः सुखिरस्य समुद्भवः । राजनारायणेनेह कीर्तिराजानुजन्मना ॥

in his articles on Nanyadeva and the history of Mithila, speaks of Nanyadeva as a powerful king of Mithila who ruled over it from the 18th July 1097 to A.D. 1133. Vijayasena of Bengal seems to have defeated him perhaps when he was still young. In the Bodh Gaya inscription of Tunga-dharmavaloka the donor is said to have been the son of Kirtiraja and the grandson of Nanna-Gunavaloka, a Rashtrakuta king. The Rashtrakutas were Karnāṭas and many of the early kings of the Malkhed branch are known as Samāvaloka, Viravaloka, Puṇyavaloka, etc. The significant word *avaloka* prompts us to identify Rashtrakūṭa Kirtiraja with the brother of Nanyadeva. The Rashtrakūṭas, when their power declined in the Dakkhan about 970 A.D., made a move towards the north and the east and established their dynasties in their new acquisitions till they were all finally swept away in the deluge of Moslem invasions in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Nanyadēva closely follows Abhinavagupta in all his criticism which gave the work its world-wide recognition, and in two places Nānya mentions the great commentator by name. Abhinava died about 1030 A. D. Even in his lifetime his works seem to have spread all over India. His commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra superseded all the previous attempts in the direction throwing to background, works of even Bhōjadeva and Someśwara, the son of Vikramānka, who appear to have also commented on Nāṭyaśāstra besides their activities in other directions.

As far as we know Śrngadeva is the only author who cites Nanyadēva. Granthamaharṇava might be an encyclopaedia, for that was the age when wide-growing literature in Sanskrit was condensed into epitomes for easy reference, to scholars and commentators. Learned sovereigns like Bhoja, Someswara, and later on Madanapāla

(3) श्रीरागस्यैकभूमि ललितमधुरवाग्मिन्न बङ्गाल गौड
प्रौढप्राग्भारसारः ककुभमुभयथा साधयन्विश्वमुच्चैः ।
संप्राप्तो भैरवो य प्रबिलसति मुहुर्धूर्जारियस्य कण्ठे
सौवीरोऽध्यायमेनं व्यधित कृतमतिर्भूपतिर्नान्यदेवः ॥

(VII)

(4) मध्यप्रागपरान्तकोत्तरदिशामुत्तुङ्गमा [सारितं]
यस्योच्चैर्गुणवर्धमानमनिशं गायन्ति दिव्याङ्गना ।
स श्रीनान्यपतिः क्षितेरधिपतिर्गान्धर्वविद्यापति-
गीताध्यायमिमं सुबोधमकरोत्प्रत्यप्रवाणीपतिः ॥

(VIII)

(5) उक्तं चास्माभिर्ग्रन्थमहार्णवे ।

(XV - 63)

Vīramitra, Kāḍi Basava etc, have liberally contributed to such literature. The inscription of Śrīdhara, § the minister of Nanyadeva seems to mention Granthamahārṇava as a work of his.

श्रीनान्यपतिर्जेता (कृतग्रन्थ) महार्णवः । यत्कीर्त्या जनितं विश्वं द्वितीयः क्षीरसागरः ।

The latter half of the verse though a common epithet, reminds us of the following line in his work:—

वीरूषाब्धिसहोदरेण यस्यशा कल्पानलेनोजसा ।

तेनायं सिधिलेश्वरेण रचितोऽव्ययोऽवनद्धाभिधः

Thus far we might not be wrong in identifying our author with the Karṇāṭa King of Mithila referred to by Mr. Jayaswal.

Bharata divides his science of stage into four sections viz. Vāchika, āngika, sāttvika and ahārya. The first relates to the rules of delivery and its musical accompaniment, the second to the gestures including the poses, the third to the production of bhāva and rasa in the minds of audience by proper display of feeling and the last to the stage toilet and deportment. Nānya calls his work Vāchikāṁśa, that is, that portion of the subject-matter of Bharata which deals with delivery and music. It is doubted whether he has taken up the remaining three divisions as well. If so the whole work would swell over thirty-thousand granthas. Kumbhakarna divides his work Sangīta-Mīmāṁsa into five divisions similarly but separating delivery proper from music, giving a meagre treatment to ahārya or dressing.

Nānya's treatment of the subject is very lucid and comprehensive. Bhojadeva exhibits unique powers of analysing his subject in a new cast and taking the reader for quite a novice to literature, leads him into all the intricacies of thought and word in a calm and determined manner. But Nānya teaches to a scholar and always defends or justifies his statements by quoting from great masters of the past. Among his authorities the following deserve a passing notice.

Matanga:—the author of *Brihaddeśī* now available to all. About one hundred quotations are given from this monumental work. *Matanga* is older than *Silappadikaram* in Tamil, one of the oldest works in that language. *Mādhavī*, one of the characters in it, questions the hero on the merits of *Matanga* and *Bharata*. This work has been assigned by the Tamil critics to 200 B. C. *Matanga* himself quotes from *Chatura*, *Kōhala*, *Nandin*, *Dattila*, *Bharata*, and *Narada*. His treatment is śāstric and original. He originated what

§ Vide J.B.O.R.S. Vol. IX p 303, *Letters within brackets are mine for the lacuna,

is called dvādaśa-āvara-mūrchanā, though it was abandoned by later scholars.

Viśakhila:—a very old writer on music whose work is not yet discovered. He is cited earliest by Umbeka in his commentary on śloka-vārtika. Umbeka is now known as Bhavabhūti and as a pupil of Kumārila.

Dakṣaprajāpati:—as an author on music is attested by Abhinava in Abhinavabhāratī (Ch. XXVIII) and by Singabhūpāla in his commentary on Ratnākara (Calcutta Edition Page 22-24). It was he that created what are called brahmagītās in Vedic music.*

Satātapa:—is known only as an author of a smṛiti and his composition of a musical work is yet unknown.

Kāśyapa and *Vṛiddhakāśyapa*:—probably different from their Buddhist namesakes. Kāśyapa seems to be the greatest authority on rāgas. He is often cited at length both by Abhinava and Nānya, who gives about 150 quotations from the work of that sage.

Nandin:—his original work is not now available to us but an epitome of it known as Aumāpata is found in 40 chapters. It is a mere catalogue of technical terms. King Raghunātha of Tanjore describes it as follows:—

उमापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रं विलोक्य नन्दीशमतानुसारं ।

Dattila:—one of the five Bharatas whose work is not extant. He is a special authority on the fundamental principles of music and sapta-gītās corresponding to the tālādhyāya of Bharata and also on dhruvā metres.

Yashtika:—on epitome of whose work is now available. Abhinavagupta frequently quotes from him. He is said to have reconciled the mārṅa with the deśi rāgas, viz., the older forms with the developments in various provinces in course of time. Yashtika lived in Kadalivana, probably in the district of Tanjore and Ānjanēya approached him to receive instruction and to clear himself of apparent differences in theory and practice as affected by time. Ānjanēya, tutored by him introduced a number of deśi-rāgas with the modifications of śrūtis. King Raghunātha says of him:—

कदाचिदागात्कदलीवनान्तमासेदिवान्याष्टिकमांजनेयः

संगतिर्विद्योपनिषद्द्रव्यमध्यापयन्तं धुरी दत्तमुख्यान् ॥

देदीयरगेष्वपि च स्वरेषु श्रुतिष्वमृषामपि लक्षणेषु ।

नानाविरोधानिह याष्टिकं तं ते दक्षमुख्यास्त्वितिपर्यपृच्छन् ॥

*कृष्णाथा पाणिना दक्षविहिता ब्रह्मगीतिका. *Yagnavalkya praises him (Pra, IX-106.)

सप्तस्वरा द्वादश वैकृता ये तेषां चतुस्त श्रुतयो न चान्यः ।
 पञ्चश्रुतिः षट्छृतिरत्यपीयं देशीयरागेषु कथं प्रसिद्धिः ॥
 अतोमये च्छास्त्रविरोध एषां त्यागेषु तासां नहि रागलाभः ।
 एवं विरोधे परिशङ्क्यमाने ततस्त्ववादीत्परिहारमेवम् ॥
 शास्त्रास्य लक्ष्य मिथो विरोधो स स्याद्यथा स्यादपि रागलाभः ।
 स पर्यहर्षादिति तान्वितो धान्द्राग्याष्टिको रामपदाञ्जसेवी ।
 आलोच्य बुध्याचिरमाज्जनेयां लक्षाविरुद्धं प्रणिनाय शास्त्रम् ॥

Kirtidhara.—frequently referred to by Abhinavagupta also. Kōhala mentions him and he must be an old writer. He is a great authority on flutes and *deśi-nūtya*.

Naradiya śiksha and its *vivraṇa*.:—Śikṣā is considered a very late work by various western scholars who unhappily take a fancy to bring down any author to the age of Elizabeth or Anne. Mr. Popley speaks of *Naradiya-śikṣā* in the following terms:—

“The *Naradiya Śikṣā*, wrongly connected with the name of the great *nishi*, was probably composed between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. It shows considerable development on the *Nāṭyasāstra* in its *rāga* system and in a number of matters agrees with the *Kudimiyamala* inscription †where that disagrees with the next important treatise, the *Ratnākara*. Some scholars think that *Nārada Śikṣā* comes much later than twelfth century.”

But Nānya quotes even from its commentary and Abhinavagupta frequently cites from *śikṣā*. In fine, Bharata himself quotes the following verse of *śikṣā* in chapter XXXIV-199.

आचार्या समभिच्छन्ति पदच्छेदं तु पण्डिता
 स्त्रियो मधुरभिच्छन्ति विकृष्टमितरे जनाः ॥

The commentator whom Nānya quotes is Bhaṭṭa Subhāṅkara. We have recently obtained a good copy of his commentary from Mālabar.

Devaraja.:—is cited later on by King Raghunatha also. But Nānya's quoting from his work removes the conjecture that he was the king of Vijayanagar and patron of Kallinātha, the commentator on *Ratnākara*.

Ratnakosamata.:—probably the work of Mātrigupta and certainly not of Kumbhakarna who composed his work in five *ratnakosās* only in the 15th century, for he mentions Kallinātha of 1400 A. D. in his *Nritya-ratnakosā*.

† *Kūdimiyamala* inscription follows the *Kāśyapa* system and *Nārada* need not borrow from the inscription, which requires a re-edition in the light of the latest discoveries in music.

Nanyadeva was chiefly indebted for his material to Kāṣyapa, Matanga and Abhinavagupta. It may be questioned whether Bharatabhāṣya is a commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra or an original work based upon it. Abhinavagupta fully explains and amplifies portions of Bharata's work where the sage is meagre with the summaries from the theories from Kāṣyapa, Viśakhila &c and these portions together with the commentary on tāṭa and dhruvādhyāyas require further elucidation. This we find in Nānyadeva who is very elaborate and best in the chapters on saptagītās and dhruvās. Nānyadeva has introduced much new matter in his treatment of jātis and rāgas, which is not found in Bharata or in Abhinava's works. Nānya treated at length of about 160 rāgas in all its details. But as the name signifies he introduces the text of Bharata with *avatāraṭa* and *pratīka* only twice or thrice. For example in Saptagītāthvā:—

अनन्तरं चाङ्गानां संश्लेषो विस्तारो वत्यादि गानयख्यानमङ्गास्थित्यासंख्या ह उत्तरं
द्वादशपरमित्यादि ————— नाट्यशास्त्र (XXXI-282.)

Nevertheless it may be called an independent work like Ratnākara which is also deeply indebted to Abhinavagupta.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE WORK.

The first four chapters of it are devoted to the fundamental principles of music viz., svara, śruti grāma, murchana and tālas. When he does not agree with certain theory of any author he omits it and simply follows the recognised authorities unlike many writers like Abhinava, Kumbhakana, who criticise the various theories fully. The fifth chapter which should deal with the alankāras is lost in the copy. The sixth treats of jāti and the seventh of rāgas. Here the author brought in much from his vedic studies. About 160 rāgas are fully discussed. His seven-fold division of rāgas was based upon Abhinavagupta who defines jāti as source of rāgas, viśa, śuddha, bhinna, gaṇḍa, (vesara), sātharara, bhāṣhā, and vibhāṣhā. In these the first five are the divisions adopted by Purgaschool while Yāshika has only three—bhāṣhā, vibhāṣhā, and antarbhāṣhā. Kohala treats all rāgas as bhāṣhas. This terminology was abandoned later on in the 16th century and a new mnemonic scale was introduced to simplify the older system.

The eighth chapter dwells upon what is called Saptagītā which in matter corresponds to the Tālādhyāya of Bharata which according to Abhinavagupta is a very difficult chapter.* Nānyadeva

पोष्यन्ते यदुपरि परे पारलभानवाप्ते यत्प्रतानां विमलमपि संदोहमेवावहेत् ।

मायाम्भोधिप्रकृतिगहनात्तलतत्वादमुष्मात्प्रतीर्णाः स्मः.....

(XXXI)

in that chapter is very clear and full, for this matter relates much to Vedic and ritual origin of Brahmagitas. The ninth and tenth chapters deal with dhruvā and dhruvātālas as given by Bharata in the 32nd chapter which relates to the musical operations behind the stage to regulate the action, entrance, exit &c., on the stage. For instance the vaiṭṭlika, vācharaṭis, jhambhēṭikas &c., in the fourth act of Vikramorvaśī come under this section, where Nānya gives perfect details and examples in various Prākṛit tongues as to suit high and low characters. After Bharata, Nānya is the only available writer who deals with this part of the subject. Tumburu whom Nānyadeva mentions was also an old writer on music who deals with Dhruvātālas giving examples in Prākṛit languages and whose work has recently been discovered. Kumbhakarna's work on this portion is still missing, śaṅgadeva made a passing remark only.

The eleventh chapter describes all the deśi-ragas which are generally of Karnāṭa type betraying the nativity of the author. Someśwara and śaṅgadeva are more profuse in this section. The next section treats of vīṇās and flutes entering into few details. We know that the author's masters, Matanga, Kāśyapa and Abhinava are also meagre and it is the various tantras alone* that exhaust the information on flute and stringed instruments. To compensate this shortage the next two chapters on mridanga, paṇava and dardura—the instruments of percussion, receive the greatest of his attention. The next two chapters are missing.

Śaṅgadeva is deeply indebted to Nānya and Abhinava for all his details in every section. Nānya goes to the root of the matter and is ever ready with his authorities. As his masters are great sages he is generally free from errors. Śaṅgadeva is accused of his faults by Kumbhakarna, Raghunatha* &c. This work is most useful for a research scholar at every step of his exposition of ancient music.

From the sixteenth century old order in the teaching of music gave room to easy and new methods which did not tax the brain more than the voice or hand. New works, compendia in nature with thick head lines of sections, drove all the ancient heavy works to the upper shelves of reference libraries. Settled practice

*रागालापनमन्त्राहुः कचित्पाण्डित्यमानिनः। शाङ्गदेवादयस्तेषां मते न मम समतम्॥ (कुम्भकर्ण)

श्रीशाङ्गदेवेन कृतं च सप्तषड्यायं तथा लक्ष्यावेरोधिलक्ष्याम् ।

अबोधकात्यल्पतरप्रयागामुद्दिष्टरागानुदितस्वरूपम् ॥ (संगीतसुधा)

*Vina tantra, one of the 32 tantras of the Yamala school, purports to deal with vīṇa at length in 100,000 slokas.

with mnemonic symbols descended from the master to the pupil created a new terminology which was necessitated by the influence of the foreign systems. The times were also troublous and the intellect and critical faculty could not find much avocation for the older system which excited only academical interest. In the royal halls a happy combination of voice, instrument and personal charm compensated the want of scientific comprehension and infinite variety. But the advent of the new nations disturbed that surface once more. Devotion to art has now become a luxury and craving for ease and cheapness is enhanced by want of leisure. Wealth, which once offered pleasures in art which ultimately stirred up the finer phase of the soul, now runs only to kaleidescopic views whose impressions vanish away even on the sensual strata without touching the mental plane. Thus it is no matter for surprise that the ancient works are now chattels of mere curiosity.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT ON TELUGU.*

By C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L. T.,

Telugu is a mixed language and has incorporated into itself words from various sources—Sanskrit, the Prākṛits, Canarese, Tamil, Hindustani, English, Arabic, Afghan, Persian, Malaya, Oriya, Dakkhani, Bengali, Chinese, Turkish, Tartar, Marāthi, French, Latin, Portuguese, Italian, Greek, and Mexican. It is a natural process with all languages which come into contact with others. The substratum, of course, remains Telugu and consists of a majority of Telugu words. These again are connected with words of kindred languages viz., Tamil, Canarese, Malayālam and other Dravidian idioms to which Telugu in the main belongs by grammatical and glossarial affinity.

Apart from the Dravidian words, Sanskrit and the Prākṛits have contributed the greatest number of words to the Telugu vocabulary. Native grammarians have in fact declared Telugu to be derived from Sanskrit. They were right in their opinion so long as vocabulary alone decided the affinity of languages. But comparative philologists have discarded this test and established the principle that no matter how great the glossarial affinity may be, it is the grammatical relationship alone that counts in the affiliation of languages. Since Caldwell wrote his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, Telugu was affiliated to the Dravidian group beyond dispute. People are not wanting who are attempting to restore Telugu to the Indo-European group, but their attempts have so long proved futile.

However, it will be an interesting point for investigation how far Telugu words owe their origin to Sanskrit and Prākṛit words. Telugu Dictionaries that are now extant do not aim at any etymological explanation of words, and where they do, they do so in a cursory and haphazard fashion. They regard words which are evidently derived from Sanskrit or the Prākṛits as native and vice versa. They do not indicate from what Prākṛit, and how the words are derived. There is a vast field for work in this direction and scholars will do well to take it up.

The dictionaries by Brown Etc. and Sabdaratnākara-kāra are the biggest now available for use. The latter swells the vocabulary by the inclusion of large numbers of pure Sanskrit words, while the former adheres to words used in books, while at the same time recording as far as possible words in common usage. Sabdaratnākara

* This article is an exact reprint of C. Narayana Rao's original article, but the author has since made extensive researches into the problem of the affiliation of the so-called Dravidian group of languages, the results of which are recorded in his two works (1) *Introduction to Dravidian Philology* (1929) in English and (2) the "*History of the Telugu language*" in Telugu (2 vols.) published by the Andhra University. Mahopadhyaya Kalaprapurna Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., Ph. D., L.T. (Anantapur) is now a confirmed Aryanist. Editor.

records 35,055 words, of which 15,814 words are pure tatsamās i. e. Sanskrit words adopted into Telugu with a simple case or tense sign attached to them. These have not undergone any change since coming into the language. About 2,000 Sanskrit words, however, have been affected by Telugu phonetic laws and are adapted to the needs of the Telugu organs of speech. Sabdaratnākara, again, classifies words into *ubhayās* (i. e. words which are pure Telugu in certain meanings and Sanskrit in other), *dvayās* (i. e. words composed of tadbhava and dēśya components), *miśrās* (i. e. words composed of Sanskrit and dēśya words), and *yugalās*, (i. e. those which are *vaikrita* in certain meanings and dēśya in others). This cross classification is on the face of it unscientific. A better method would have been to group them as Samskrita-sama, Samskrita-bhava, Prakṛita-sama, Prakṛita-bhava, dēśya and anyadēśya, indicating at the same time from what Prakrit or anyadēśya they are respectively derived. Vāikrita words, both Sanskrit and Prakrit derived, are 3891 as given in this dictionary, ubhayās 302, dvayās 3,227, miśrās 170, and yugalās, 252. The pure dēśyās recorded are 12,337 in number. If we add the ubhayās and yugalās to the tatsama and dēśya words respectively, each class will gain 554 words to itself.

It is easy to recognize Sanskrit. But there are certain words which cannot be so easily identified. A list of such words is given below, with the corresponding Sanskrit roots of the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini:—

Telugu.

āṭa—play.
 aḍḍamu—across.
 apachu—to press down.
 attu—to adhere, to fit in.
 adumu—to press down.
 amayu—to be useful.
 ala—wave, (allala-nāḍuv.)
 avayu—to break.
 zohu—to stop.
 eguru, egayu—to fly up,
 idu—swim.
 uruku—to leap, to run.
 ūkoṭṭu—to listen, saying ū.
 udde (vaḍi)—very.
 ujjagonu, ujjayimpu—to estimate.
 kacca—cloth tied round the lions,

Sanskrit root.

aṭa-gatau.
 aḍḍa-abhiyogā.
 ana-gatau.
 ati-bandhanē.
 adi-bandhanē.
 ama-avatansanē.
 ala-bhushana, paryāpti, vāranishu.
 ava-bhāge, vṛiddhan cha.
 āyame.
 igi-gatau.
 ija-gatikutsanayōh.
 ukha, ukhi-gatau.
 uy-sabdē.
 urda-mānē.
 ūha-vitarke.
 kaca-bandhan .

katakatapadu—to grieve.	kattha-kricohrajivanē.
gadu—great.	kaḍa-made.
kaḍḍi—a rod (esp. of metals).	kaḍḍa-kārkasyē.
kadi (annapu)—a morsel of food.	kaḍi-bhēdanē.
kamiyu—to be pressed and spoiled.	kami-daśanē.
kalupu - to add, to mix.	kala-śabdasankhyānayoḥ.
kalla - an untruth.	kalla-avyaktaśabde.
kiṭakiṭaḷaḍu - to be crowded.	kiṭa-trāṣē.
kūyu - generally sound of birds.	kuy-śabde.

Instances can be multiplied, but this essay is not intended to exhaust the list. There are about 160 Sanskrit roots to which Telugu words, so far not detected to have any connection with them, can be traced.

The Prakrits-Pāli.

Of the Prakrits, Pāli has contributed the largest number of words to Telugu. It is what one should expect, considering the fact that the Telugu country was long under the occupation of the Buddhists and the Jains till the beginning of the eleventh century and even in later times. The Pāli influence on the Telugu pronunciation of Sanskrit words can be traced both in the speech of the masses and the words actually borrowed into the language. Names of persons like Bojjanna, Skt. Bōdhā (yana) Pāli. Bujjh; Koṇḍanna, Skt. Kaundinya Pāli. Kaundinna; Appanna, Skt. Arpaṇa and so on; Names of places like Naḍagām, Uṇḍam, etc., are Pāli derived. Below will be given certain Telugu words which are adopted from Pāli, directly into Telugu.

<i>Telugu.</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Pali</i>
Mayamu. Majjha (coll.)	Madhya.	Mājjha, Māha, Mahā Maa, Maya.
Kummara	Kumbhakāra Kumbhara	Kummara. Kummāra.
Jāṇa	Jna	Jāṇa
Pasādam (coll.)	Prasāda	Pasādam.

The following are instances of assimilation:—

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Pali.</i>	<i>Telugu.</i>
Pustaka	pothaka	(coll.) pōttakamu pottakamu.
Bhākta	bhaṭṭa	batta baṭṭuḍu.
Utpanna	uppanna	uppanna-(buddhulu).
Dharma	dhamma	(coll.) dammam.
Janma	jamma	jamma or jalma.

Sabda	sadda	saddu.
Ulka	ukka	ukka or uḍaka.
Kārya	Kayya	Kayyamu.
Pushpa	puppha	pup-(podi).

Skt. *v* Pāli. *b* Tel. *b*

eg. Skt. Vandhyā, Pāli. banjjhā, Tel. banjaru.

Skt. *y*, Pāli. *j*, Tel. *j*.

eg. Skt. yojna. Pāli Janna Tel. Jannamna.

Skt. Vaidyā Pāli. Vējja Tel. Vejju.

Skt. *tya*, *thya*, and conjunct conservants with *s* or *sh* as the latter component *cca*.

Skt.	Pāli.	Tel.
Mṛityu	maccu	Macchu (māya-moinādu.)
Satya	sacca	sacchamu (coll.)
Rathya	racchā	racca.
Kshaṇa	ehaṇa	canamu (coll.).
Apsaras	accharā	accara.
Matsara	macchara	maccaramu.

The following tendencies which are present in Pāli are to be found in Telugu also. Notice that in Telugu there is a further development.

Skt.	Pāli.	Skt.	Pāli.	Tel.
kya	kka	sakhya	sakka	sekkamu
khya	kkha	akhyān	akkhāna	akkhēnamu
gya	gga	yōgya	yōgga	aōggemu
bhya	bbha	abhyantara	abhantra	abhentaramu
sya	ssa	hāsyā		āssemv
tra	tta	rātri	rāttiri	rētiri, rēyi
		rātiri		ratiri
gra	gga	ugra		uggaramu
dra	dda	ārdraka	addaka	addakamu
dhra	ddha	gridhṛa	giddha	gadda or gedda
nya	nna	anya	anna	annemu
ksha	kka	riksha		rikka

Only a few of the changes are noted above. Instances can be multiplied. Childer's Pāli dictionary provides us with about three hundred words to which Telugu words can be traced. In the Pāli-English dictionary by Rhys Davids (now of happy memory) and Stede, there could be traced as many as 369 originals to Telugu words.

Other Prakrits: Mahārāṣṭrī and Saurasēni.

Many Telugu words can be traced to other Prakrits. We shall begin with Mahārāṣṭrī and Saurasēni. The difference between these two Prakrits is that *t* and *th* of Saurasēni are not dropped but changed into *d* and *dh* in Mahārāṣṭrī and that *nt* into *nā*.

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Mahrashtri.</i>	<i>Telugu.</i>
Gaurava.	garavam.	garavamamu.
Kavitva.	ka'itta.	kayita, kaita.
Sukha.	suha.	suhamu. (coll.)
Lakshmi.	<i>Saur:</i> lacchi.	lacci.
Sri	siri.	siri.
Lagna.	lagga.	laggamu.
Vijnāna.	<i>Saur:</i> viññāna.	vinnānamu.
Mukha.	<i>Saur:</i> muha.	mohamm, momu.
Vaidya.	„ vejja.	vejju.
Pishṭa.	„ piṭṭa.	piṭṭamu, (coll.) piṭṭu.
Nidrā.	„ Niddā.	niddā.
Sanjñā.	sañña.	sanna.
Sunya.	„ suñña.	sunna.
<i>Pati</i> <i>Paisachi</i> and <i>Magadhi.</i>	} Sannā.	Sayya (Sayaāta)
		Sayyata.

<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Mhr. & Saur.</i>	<i>Tel.</i>
Parāmarṣa.	„ parāmarisa.	parāmarisa.
Tāmbūla.	„ tāmbōla.	(coll.) tāmbōlamu.
Sthūla.	„ thora.	toramu.
Bhata.	„ bhaḍa.	baḍava.
Pridhivi.	„ pudhvi.	pudami.
Dāḍima.	„ dālima.	dālimma
Aygāra.	„ iygāla.	iygalamu.
Daṣa.	„ daha.	daham (as in counting.)
Sithila.	„ siḍhila.	sadalū.
Tṛitīya.	taia.	tadiya.
Vakra.	vayka.	vayka, vaykara.

Paisāchi.

Telugu grammarians trace the Telugu language to a Paisāchi original, but do not support their statement by facts. There is no doubt that certain Telugu words owe their sources to Paisāchi originals, but they are there just like the other Prakrit words and nothing more. Unlike in Mahārāṣṭrī, single consonants are not

changed in any way in Paisāchi and dentals are not changed into cerebrals; but Sanskrit cerebrals are optionally changed into dentals. Skt. ṇ, ḍ, = *n* and *t*; ś, *sh*, and *s* = *s*; *jna* and *nya*, = *na*. In the Chulikā Paisāchi, all sonants in the hardening of sonants. The Paisāchi differs from Pali only in the hardening of sonants. In other respects, it closely agrees with Pali.

Apabhramsa.

Apabhramsa affinities of Telugu words may also be traced:

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Apabhramsa.</i>	<i>Telugu.</i>
Lakshmi.	lacchi.	lachi.
Iṣṭa.	iṭṭu.	iṭṭamu.
Ḍiṣṭi.	diṭṭhi.	diṣṭi.
Stbāpa (-yati),	theviti.	thēva, thāvu.
Idṛiṣa.	Pr. Idiṣa.	Ap. aiṣ. Mod. Mhr. aisē. Tel. haisa.
Ḍiṣhaka.	Pr. diṭṭha.	Ap. diṭṭhau. Guj. Ditho. Tel. diṭṭamu.

Modern North Indian Vernaculars which are the direct descendants of the old Prakrits provide us also with certain originals for Telugu words. Prof. Louis H. Gray's 'Indo-Iranian Phonology,' provides us with a large number of them. There could be traced a hundred such words from it, in which the author has utilized only a few by way of illustration. A close investigation might bring more Prakrit affinities to Telugu words,

A few examples taken from that book will be cited here with the Telugu equivalents thereof:

Skt. Sveta.	Aves	Sphaeta.	Tel. Safedu.
Skt. Kira.	Hindi.	Kīda.	Tel. Cīda-(purugu)
Skt. Rshi.	Sindh.	Rusi.	Tel. Rushi (also ṛishi)

While Telugu has in this way borrowed words from the Prakrits, the Prakrits themselves have adopted certain native words into them. The following are certain Telugu words shown as *dēśyās* in Prakrit glossaries.

<i>Telugu</i>	<i>Modern Maharashtra</i>	<i>Prkt. Pali</i>
Akka (an elder sister)	akkā.	akkā.
Kōṭa.	kōṭa.	kōṭṭam.
Kalupu.	kāḷavanēm	kallaviam
Chināli.	sindāḷa.	chiṇṇō, chinnū chiṇṇaḷō, chinnāḷō.
Pōṭṭa	Hind. & Guj.: pēt	pōṭṭam.
Bāpure, Bāpu	Hind. & Guj.: bāpa.	bappe.

KOLAVENNU PLATES OF THE KAKATIYA KING GANAPATIDEVA.

By R. S. RAGHAVA IYENGAR, M.A.,

A set of five Copper-plates was discovered during the excavation of a mound near the temple at Kolavennu, a village in the Bezvada taluk of the Kistna district. It was received by the Govt. Museum, Madras, from the Collector of Kistna.

These five plates are strung on a ring the ends of which are secured by means of a seal. The ring was cut when it was received in the Museum. On the seal there is a figure of a standing boar facing the proper right surmounted by the figures of the Sun and the Moon. The first plate bears writing on the inner side only. The outside of the fifth plate contains the words, "Kolaventi Sasanalū" in Telugu. The other plates are written on both sides. They have slightly raised rims, though in some plates these are either beaten down or worn away. The length of the plates varies from $9\frac{1}{8}$ " to $9\frac{1}{4}$ " and the breadth, from $4\frac{1}{8}$ " to $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". The plates are slightly broader at the ends than at the centre. The inner diameter of the ring is 3". The thickness of the ring is $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The outer circumference of the ring is $1''-\frac{5}{8}$.

The inscription consists of 69 lines of writing and is in a good state of preservation, except in places where the plates are corroded. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, which consists of sixteen verses (lines 1-24 and 60-69) and a prose passage giving the names of the donees. (lines 24-60). The script employed is Telugu throughout-

The inscription is one of King Gaṇapati who is stated to be of the Kākatiya dynasty (l.7). He is said to be the son of Poranti Venna (l.1) who has been much praised (v.2). This Gaṇapati gave the village of Kolavennu situated on the banks of the river Krishna to one hundred and thirty Brahmans on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse.

We shall compare this record with the known records of the Kākatiya Gaṇapati. The following are the records that are at present available for comparison:—

- (1) Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya. Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 142.
- (2) Gaṇapēsvaram inscription of the time of Gaṇapati.
Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 82.
- (3) Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 38.

- (5) Ekambranātha inscription of king Gaṇapati.

Indian Antiquary Vol. 21. p. 197.

- (6) Gāravapādu grant of the time of Gaṇapati noticed on page 122 of the Report on Madras Epigraphy for 1917.

On comparing our record with these noted above, two peculiarities present themselves: (1) The abruptness with which the record begins and (2) the novelty in the name of Gaṇapati's father.

Let us now consider the first case. All the records noted above begin with benedictory verses in praise of Varāha, Siva and Gaṇesa. Records Nos. 1, 2, 3 begin with the praise of Varāha, Siva and Gaṇesa; and No. 1 has praise of Saraswati also. No. 4 begins with the praise of Gaṇesa, Varāha and Siva. No. 5 begins with the praise of Gaṇesa, Saraswati and Siva.

But our grant begins with 'शुभमस्तु' and then mentions Gaṇapati's father. This procedure is quite contrary to the nature of the other grants noted above. But we may take the expression 'शुभमस्तु' as intended to denote the *mangala*. This abruptness is not found in the other grants of Gaṇapati. We find the same abruptness in the Ekamranatha inscription, which begins with स्वस्तिश्रीः and then is found.

एतन्निखिल भूपाल मौलिमण्डलमण्डनम् ।

गणपत्यवनीन्द्रस्य चन्द्रार्कस्थायि शासनम् ॥

In spite of this, slokas in praise of Gaṇesa, Varāha and Siva follow. But there is no such thing in our grant. Therefore our grant differs from the known grants of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati.

Let us now take the second case:—

All the grants noted above give this genealogy of king Gaṇapati and state that he was the son of Mahādēva. But contrary to all these, our present record states that Poraṇi Venna was the father of Gaṇapati. If our grant belongs to the Kākatiya family, Mahādēva should have had another name as Pōraṇi Venna. If not Gaṇapati of our grant should be different from the Gaṇapati referred to in these grants. There is no record to show that the Kākatiya king Mahādēva had another name as Pōraṇi Venna. The name itself is quite foreign to the Kākatiya dynasty and is appropriate with the Reddi line of kings. But no such king appears to have existed even in the Reddi line. In the course of the inscription it is stated that the village granted was named after the father of Gaṇapati and the grant was therefore named Kōlaventi Sasanalu. It is therefore certain that Venna was the father of Gaṇapati. Let us now see who this Gaṇapati was. From the records known at present we meet with the following names:—

- (1) Ganapati, son of Ayyappa who was the lord of Vengi.
(Ins. No. 140 of 1897).
- (2) Kōṇa Gaṇapati Deva Mahāraya, a later chief of the Haihaya-Kōṇa line, (Inscription No. 520 of 1903, Saka, 1184).
- (3) Srīpati Gaṇapati who was defeated by Ambadēva Mahārāja who was a feudatory chief of the Kākatiyas. Saka 1194.

Our Gaṇapati cannot be identified with No. 1 as the father's name is stated to be Ayyappa, nor with No. 2 as that king is stated to be of a different line nor with No. 3 as this chief was not such a powerful one as to give grants. Our Gaṇapati is entirely different from these three, and until more records are discovered it is not possible to say who he was.

The date of the grant was the new-moon day in the month of Māgha of the year Saumya, Saka 1172. This corresponds to 3rd February 1250 A.D. according to the Ephemeris of L. D. Swami kannu Pillai. The day in question is a new-moon day, but Pillai says that from the position of nodes on that day an eclipse was impossible. On the day in question the sun was 280° from the node and at such a distance an eclipse was impossible. This fact gives much room to doubt the genuineness of the grant.

Generally grants are made on auspicious occasions and copper-plates are issued subsequently. Similarly this grant might have been made on an eclipse that occurred before, and the plate might have been engraved on the date quoted in the grant. The scribe might have compounded both into one.

It is stated that all special gifts enjoined in the Code of Hēmādri have been given away by Gaṇapati. From this it is to be inferred that by the time our grant was made the Code of Hēmādri attained great fame. The date of our grant is 1250 A.D. We shall see when the Code of Hēmādri was composed. Hemadri was a great Sanskrit scholar, and the son of Kamadeva. He occupied the श्रीकरणाधिपत्यपदवी under Mahādēva, one of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, who ruled from 1260 to 1278 A. D. Hēmādri was his minister. He was also the minister of King Ramachandra who succeeded Mahādēva. Hēmādri got this high position after 1260 A. D. The Code referred to is not the original work of Hēmādri, but a compilation of several Smṛitis and Dharmasastras. This huge work should have been brought out with the help of great scholars and money. It is probable that this work might have been composed only when Hēmādri occupied the high position of a minister i. e. after 1260 A. D. From the colophon at the end of each chapter it is clear that Hēmādri composed this work when he was the minister of Mahādēva.* But it may also be possible to think

* श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्री महादेवस्य समस्तकरणाधीश्वरश्रीहेमद्रिविरचिते चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणौ।

that the compilation might have been made earlier to have brought renown in consequence of which Hēmadri might have got the high position in the state. Then the colophon will not be correct. In that case the compilation should have been done before 1260 A. D. As the date of our grant is 1250 it is very difficult to believe that the compilation might have been made prior to the date of our grant. We may suppose that the publication of the Code was made in Mahādēva's time. Then the compilation would have been started earlier. There is therefore, room to doubt the genuineness of the grant.

As regards *orthography*, ṇṭē is written with an anusvāra, and ṭa, ṇṭa are written with an anusvāra and ṭa rya is written by combining the full form of rēpha with the secondary form of ya while in some cases rēpha is written over the line. अवतंसयन्ति, कांयां, ऐश्वर्येय, प्रांतदुरनांवा may be noted. The characters appear to be a little more modern when compared with the characters of the known records of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapaṭi.

The village granted exists even now with the same name, in the Bezwada taluk of the Kistna District.

The recipients of our grant all belong to Śuklayajurveda and their names are given in the list appended to the translation.

TEXT *

First plate, second side.

1. Subhamastu [1*] Gaṇapa Kṣhmāpati janakō bhuvī vilasati Pōranti Vēṇṇa bhupā-
2. lah | avatamsayamti kirtir = pravimalakusumāni yasya din-nāryah [*1]
3. danē suryasutam pratāpavibhavē śrī rāmachandram nṛipam dhai-
4. ryē mēru mahādharā himakaram kṛtyām ravim tē-
5. jasi | aiswaryē pramathadhipam yamasutam dharmē balē vāyuj-jam rū-
6. pē panchasaram vidhuh ¹ Pōranti ² Vēṇṇa-kṣhmāpatim paṇḍitāh [*2] Gaṇa-

7. pati bhūpati chandrē prabhavati bhuvī Kākatiya vams=ābdhau

Second plate, first side.

8. kṛitayugam-iva lōkōyam kṛitakṛityō bhavati saukhya sam pa-nnah [*3] jī-

* From the original plates. (1) Read viduh. (2) Under n there is na symbol

9. *yyāḍ=āchandrātāram tribhuvana vilasat sad-guṇālamkritām-gō vai-
10. ri kshēmā-nātha-darpa-prasāmana samanah prāptabhūdēvatāsih | Hēmadri prā⁴
11. [m] takalpa- drumakalita-navōdyāna līlā nisāmta svarṇārīgīta-kirtir-jagati
12. Gaṇapati kshōṇipālāh krupāvān⁵ | [*4] samadhika sampatpra⁶ tram samasta-
13. dhānyōd-bhiv=ōchitam lōkē | Vipulataram=agrahāram krishnā-tīra prabhūta vi-
14. khyātim [*5] Gaṇapatidēva mahīśō grāmam janakabhīdhāna vilasanttam | kri-
15. tvā srutisāstra pathapraṇēbhyō dādvisīṣṭa vidvadbhyah | [*6] Sakhānam prathamē
16. trivishṭapatalē vikhyatimārgam gatā yachchhākḥapi nijanvavāya-

Second Plate, second side.

17. janakasy=ādahājnyavalkyō munih | tēbhyas-samtata Vēda śāstra padavi pārangatēbhyō
18. bhūvi prādād viprakarēbhya [ēsha] nripati [S] Śrī kōlvennum muda [7*] śākābdēnayanādri
19. rudraganītē saumyē subhē-vatsarē māghē saptaramagama grahaṇa satkāḇ supūṇyē-
20. dinē | trimsad-bhukta śataya bhūmimarutām sri-kōlvennum prabhur lōkē viśrut = ā-
21. māvidhuda⁸Gaṇa⁹pa-kshōṇipatir=dattavin | [8*] Prāchyam chim ch=as-tadagah śikha diṣa sā-
22. manasyēṣṭhi kākupa aśābhāge daityasya kulyā diśi cha jalapatē stōraṇ=āśvattha bhūjāh | vā-
23. yavyām mrōmpakulyājala vimala talā-ch=ōttaraśyām chakulyā cha=iśānyām vighnarajō diśi ja
24. navidit=āśchīgraharsya simāh [*9] Gōvindabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi-Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Mādhava-
25. bhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Keśavabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Trivikramabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Manchibhaṭṭa-

Third Plate, first side.

26. padōna bhāgi Visweswarabhaṭṭō Rā[gha]va bhaṭṭō bhāgi Lakshmanabhaṭṭō bhāgi Bhīmē-
27. śwarabhaṭṭāraka bhāgi Aubhaṭṭaraya bhāgi Prōlanadyah padōna bhāgi Mārubbhaṭṭa adha-
28. bhāgi Kuchibhaṭṭō bhāgi Krishṇabhaṭṭō bhāgi Mallanāryah padōna bhāgi Annambhaṭṭa.

(3) Read yada. (4) The anuswara is marked in the beginning of the next line. (5) N looks like n. (6) Read tpatrm. (7) Read Viśruta. (8) Read dhuda. (9) The letter na is inserted below the letter pa.

29. arḍha bhāgi Kamāyabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Singanāryō bhāgi Tripurāri bhaṭṭa dvibhā.
30. gī Nagāyabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Bhāskarabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Āttabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Na-
31. rasimhabhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Sri dharabhaṭṭo bhāgi Jagannaḍha bhaṭṭa ēkabhāgi Padmanābhhaṭṭa ē-
32. kabhāgi Purushottabhaṭṭō bhāgi Vallabha bhaṭṭō bhāgi Telunga-nāryō bhāgi Su-
33. rubhaṭṭa ardhhabhāgi Pinnāyabhaṭṭa pādōnabhāgi Appalabhattō bhāgi Tālubhaṭṭa bhāgi
34. Kambhaṭṭa bhāgi Varadabhaṭṭa arḍhabhāgi Vambhaṭṭa ardhhabhāgi Simhadri bhaṭṭa bhāgi gaṇa-

Third Plate, second side.

35. ētē Kaśyapagotrāḥ | Kaśavāryō dvibhāgi Maḍhvāryō bhāgi Kāmanā
36. ryō bhāgi Ganganāryō bhāgi Nāganāryō bhāgi Rāmanāryō bhāgi La-
37. kshmanāryō dvibhāgi Peddanāryō bhāgi Yajanāryō bhāgi Samanāryō bhāgi Du
38. gganāryō dvibhāgi Damanāryō bhāgi Singanāryō bhāgi Vabhāryō bhāgi
39. Ranganāryō bhāgi Vissanāryō bhāgi Pināya bhāgi Nanāryō bhāgi-
40. Sīnganāryō bhāgi Singanāryō bhāgi Appanāryō ¹⁰ lāgi Ganganāryō bhāgi
41. Raghavāryō bhāgi Narānāryō bhāgi Appan=ārddha bhāgi Alladanāryō bhāgi
42. Raganāryō bhāgi Visweswarabhaṭṭa bhāgi Naganāryō bhāgi Vamanāryō bhāgi
43. Maranāryō bhāgi Sōmanādhā dvibhāgi Bhagīratha baṭṭa bhāgi Ganganāryō bhāgi

Fourth plate, first side.

44. ētē Bhāradvaja gotrāḥ | Ganganāryō bhāgi Mallanāryō bhāgi
45. Keśavāryō bhāgi Naraṇāryō bhāgi Pedanāryō ¹¹ vāgi Vamanāryō
46. Sankarāryō bhāgi Madukaranāryō bhāgi Govindanāryō bhāgi Vishnunāryō
47. bhāgi Trivikramanāryō bhāgi Vamanāryō bhāgi Sridharanāryō bhāgi Narasimha-
48. nāryō bhāgi Padmanāryō bhāgi Dāmōdarāryō bhāgi Vāsude ¹² nāryō bhāgi
49. Rāghavāryō bhāgi Akkanāryō bhāgi Linganāryō bhāgi Brihaspati nāryō bhāgi Nara-
50. nāryō bhāgi Sarvva nāryō bhāgi Bhāvāryō bhāgi Yeeṇāryō bhāgi
51. Mallanāryō bhāgi Bhāskaranāryō bhāgi Mādhavāryō bhāgi

(10) Read bhag. (11) Read bhagi. (12) devanāryō.

vajna nāryo bhāgi Dugga-

52. nāryo bhāgi Kāmanāryo bhāgi Prōlanāryo bhāgi Kamanāryo
bhāgi Yelanāryo bhāgi

Fourth plate, second side.

53. ētē | Kaundinyagotrāh | Madhavāryo bhāgi Gōvindanāryo bhāgi
Sankarā
54. ryō bhāgi Somanāryo bhāgi Mallanāryo bhāgi Prōlanāryo bhāgi
Vāsudēva
55. nāryo bhāgi Raghavāryo bhāgi Kesavāryo bhāgi Prolanāryo-
56. ardha bhāgi Dharmanāryo ardhabhāgi Sarvanārya ardhabhāgi
ētē Kauśikigotrāh Nārā
57. yanāryo bhāgi Mādapāryo bhāgi Rāghavāryo bhāgi Sōmanāryo
bhāgi Ya-
58. llanāryo bhāgi Vāmanāryo bhāgi Dēvanāryo bhāgi Bhāvanāryo
bhāgi Ganganā-
59. ryō ardhabhāgi Nāganāryo ardhabhāgi Yellanāryo ardhabhāgi
Prōlanāryo ardhabhāgi Parvatā-
60. ryō ardhabhāgi Annamāryo ardhabhāgi Rāghavāryo ardhabhāgi
Kesavāryo ardhabhāgi Mā-
61. dhavāryo ardhabhāgi Yellanāryo ardhabhāgi [11§] Hēmādri
kalpōkta viśēsha dān=āny=ādau kri-

Fifth plate, first side.

62. tān=iśwa [ra] mandirāni | prityā vivāhōpanayau babhūvur
baḥirmukhānām gaṇa
63. pālakēna | 1 [10§] gaṇapālaka bhūmipālavyarē dharāṇa pālana
tatparyē janāścha | nijadharma ra-
64. tā vimuktovairā-dhanadbhānyair-vilasanti pīrnagēhāh | [11§] sri-
matkākativams'a kartu rakhi-
65. lō-rvinātha mauji-spurad-ratna prōchchalad amṣu ranjita padām-
bhōjaśya bhartu-
66. bhūpah | Lōkālōka girindra kandara tamassandōha sambhāriṇi |
kirtir brāhm[y]a-
67. nākamartya phaṇabhru=llokēshu samvāsini | [12§] Gaṇapāla
mahipēna kītam dharmam=atandri-
68. tāh | pālayantu mahipālā āchandrārkam mahitalē || [13§] srimat-
swayambhū siva tarpanā
69. ya Gaṇādhipa kshamāpatina pradattam | yōvainamad=yam
prabhur-agrahāram nihanti tēna dviya govadhah kritah | [14§]
70. ēkaiva bhaginilōkē sarvēśhāmapi bhūbhujām | nabhojya nakara-
grahya vipradattā vasumdhārā | [15§] sām mnyōya

(13) Read dharanī. (14) Read sphura. ‡ Read yam - Metres employed-vv. 1,3, 5 & 6 Arya vv. 2,7,8 & 12 Sardula vikrīdita. vv 4 & 9 Sragdhara vv. 10 & 14 Indravajra vv. 13 & 15 Salinī. V. 16, Mandakranta.

71. dharma sētu=rnrūṇam kālē kālē pālāṇīyō bhavadbhīh | ityau[tsu]
 katyāt-dbhāvinah parthivēndrān bhūyo bhūyo yāchate Rāma-
 chandrah [*16] | sriswayambhūnātha ||

Fifth plate, second side.

Kōlaventi śūśanālu |

TRANSLATION.

May there be prosperity |

v. 1. King Pōraṇṭi Vēṇṇa, father of king Gaṇapati, shines in this world and the extremely white flowers of his fame decorate the damsels of the quarters.

v. 2. Learned men know king Pōraṇṭi Vēṇṇa to be Karṇa (*Sūryasuta*) in gift, king Śrī-Rāma in wealth of prowess, Mount Mēru in firmness, the Moon in splendour, the Sun in brilliance, Siva in wealth, Dharmaputra (*Yamaduta*) in righteousness, Bhima in strength and Manmatha in beauty.

v. 3. When the moon, king Gaṇapati, rose in the world from the ocean, the Kākatīya dynasty, the people of this world were contented and were full of happiness as if it was a Kṛita age.

v. 4. May victory attend, as long as the moon and the stars endure, the merciful king Gaṇapati, that king whose body is adorned with qualities resplendant in the three worlds, who was death (*Samana*) in subduing the pride of hostile kings, who had obtained the blessings of Brahmins, whose fame had been sung by heavenly damsels in the pleasure houses in the form of new gardens composed of *Kalpa* trees on the Mēru.

vv. 5 & 6. King Gaṇapati-having named after his father a big Agraharam village of great renown on the bank of the river Krishna which was the abode of great riches, which was capable of producing all kinds of grains, gave it to famous scholars devoted to the path of the *Sastras*.

v. 7. This king gave with pleasure the village of Kōlavennu to the best of Brahmins who were ever well-versed in the *Vedas* and all branches of knowledge and who have specialised in that branch viz. Sukla-Yajurveda which has been reputed to be the first among all the branches of the *Veda* and who had the honour of having Yāgnavalkya as their progenitor.

v. 8. King Gaṇapati gave the prosperous village Kōlavennu, to last as long as the moon and stars (exist), to one hundred and thirty well-read Brahmins on an auspicious day at the right moment of a Solar eclipse in the month of Māgha of the excellent year Saumya which corresponded to the Saka year 1172 expressed by (the chronogram) *nayana* (two) *adri* (seven) and *rudra* (eleven).

v. 9. The following are the well known boundaries of this *agrahāra*. Tamarind trees on the eastern side, a tank on the south-east, a well built of brick on the south, a canal on the south-western side, a gateway and *ficus religiosa* tree on the western side, the Mrōmpa canal which was full of clear water on the north-western side, a canal on the northern side and the (image of) Gaṇapati on the north-eastern side.

Then come the names of the several donees and the number of shares assigned to each of them. These are given in the following table:—

No. of line.	Name.	Shares.	No. of line.	Name.	Shares.
--------------	-------	---------	--------------	-------	---------

These belong to the Kāśyapa gōtra.

24	Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa	1	29	Tripurārī Bhaṭṭa	2
„	Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa	1	30	Nāgāya Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Mādhava Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa	1
25	Kēśava Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Āyitha Bhaṭṭa	1
„	(Tri) vi (kr) ama Bhaṭṭa	1	31	Narasimha Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Yagnēsvara Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Srīdhara Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Mañchi Bhaṭṭa	$\frac{3}{4}$	„	Jagannātha Bhaṭṭa	1
26	Viśvēśvara Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Padmanābha Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Raghava Bhaṭṭa	1	32	Purushōtta Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Lakshmana Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Vallabha Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Bhīmēśvara Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Telunganārya	1
27	Aubalārya	1	33	Sūru Bhaṭṭa	$\frac{1}{2}$
„	Prōlanārya (r) ya	$\frac{3}{4}$	„	Pinnaya Bhaṭṭa	$\frac{3}{4}$
„	Māru Bhaṭṭa	2	„	Appale Bhaṭṭa	1
28	Kūchi Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Talu Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Krishṇa Bhaṭṭa	1	34	Kām Bhaṭṭa	1
„	Mallanārya	$\frac{3}{4}$	„	Varada Bhaṭṭa	$\frac{1}{2}$
„	Annam Bhaṭṭa	$\frac{1}{2}$	„	Vāma Bhaṭṭa	$\frac{1}{2}$
29	Kāmaya Bhaṭṭa	1	„	Simhadri Bhaṭṭa	1

These belong to the Kaṇḍdinya gōtra.

35	Kēśavārya	2	39	Nanārya	1
„	Mādhavārya	1	40	Sīnganārya	1
„	Kāmanārya	1	„	Sīnganārya	1
36	Ganganārya	1	„	Appanārya	1
„	Nāganārya	1	„	Ganganārya	1
„	Rāmanārya	1	41	Rāghavārya	1
37	Lakshmanārya	2	„	Nāranārya	1
„	Peddanārya	1	„	Appanārya	$\frac{1}{2}$
„	Yajanārya	1	„	Allādanārya	1
„	Somanārya	1	42	Raganārya	1
38	Dugganārya	2	„	Viśvēśvara Bhaṭṭa	1

„ Damanārya	1	„ Nāganārya	1
„ Singanārya	1	„ Vamanārya	1
„ Vabhārya	1	43 Māranārya	1
39 Ranganārya	1	„ Sōmanātha	2
„ Vissanārya	1	„ Bhīgirathi Bhaṭṭa	1
„ Pināya	1	„ Ganganārya	1

These are of Bhāradvāja gōtra.

44 Ganganārya	1	49 Raghavārya	1
„ Mallanārya	1	„ Akkanārya	1
45 Kēśavārya	1	„ Lingānārya	1
„ Nāraṇārya	1	„ Brihaspatinārya	1
„ Pedanārya	1	50 Naranārya	1
„ Vamanārya	1	„ Savvanārya	1
46 Sankarārya	1	„ Bhāvanārya	1
„ Madhukarārya	1	„ Yajñanārya	1
„ Govindanārya	1	51 Mallanārya	1
„ Vishnunārya	1	„ Bhāskaranārya	1
47 Trivikramanārya	1	„ Madhavārya	1
„ Vāmanārya	1	„ Yajnanārya	1
„ Sridharanārya	1	52 Dugganārya	1
„ Narasimhyanārya	1	„ Kamanārya	1
48 Padmanārya	1	„ Prolanārya	1
„ Damōdarārya	1	„ Kamanārya	1
„ Vāsudevānārya	1	„ Yalanārya	1

These belong to Kaundinya gōtra.

53 Madhavārya	1	„ Sōmanārya	1
„ Govindanārya	1	58 Yallanārya	1
„ Sankarārya	1	„ Vamanārya	1
54 Sōmanārya	1	„ Dēvanārya	1
„ Mallanārya	1	„ Bhavanārya	1
„ Prōlanārya	1	„ Ganganārya	$\frac{1}{2}$
„ Vasudevānārya	1	59 Nāganārya	„
55 Raghavārya	1	„ Yallanārya	„
„ Kēśavārya	1	„ Prōlanārya	„
„ Sarvanārya	1	„ Parvatārya	„
„ Prōlanārya	$\frac{1}{2}$	60 Annāmārya	„
56 Dharmanārya	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ Raghavārya	„
„ Sarvanārya	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ Kēśavārya	„
„ Nārāyanārya	1	61 Mādhavārya	„
57 Mādapārya	1	„ Yallanārya	„
„ Raghavārya	1		

v. 10. By Gaṇapati, the different type of gifts enumerated in the *Kalpa* work of Hemādri was first performed, the temples for gods constructed and marriage and *upanayana* ceremonies performed for the good will of the Dēvas.

v. 11. When Gaṇapati, the best among the rulers of the earth was devoted to the protection of (his) country, the people observed the duties (ordained for them) giving up hatred and their houses were filled with wealth and grains.

v. 12. May the fame of this lord of the earth, the founder of the illustrious Kākatīya dynasty, whose lotus-like feet are reddened by the rays of light proceeding from the sparkling gems (set on) the crowns of all kings (who lay prostrate before him) pervade (everywhere) dwelling in the regions of the Dēvas, Mortals and Nāgas having destroyed the darkness of the caves in the chief mountain Lōkalōka.

v. 13. Let kings, always alert, protect, so long as the sun and moon endure, the charity done by king Gaṇapati.

v. 14. He who destroys this chief *agrahara* given by king Gaṇapati to please the glorious Siva in the form of Svayambhu kills Brahmins and Cows.

v. 15 & 16. Translated elsewhere.

THE GURINDAGUNTA STONE INSCRIPTION.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

The stone containing the inscription was presented to the Society by one of the members Mr. T. Achyuta Rao, M.A., L.T., Headmaster of the Government Training School, Rajahmundry, and it was accepted with grateful thanks as the inscription on it has been found to be an old and important one.

The stone which is of white granite is oval in shape and measures 52 inches round its length and 21 inches round its breadth and weighs nearly one maund. Letters were inscribed in nearly circular lines all round the breadth of the stone and the inscription consists of seven lines and is in a fair state of preservation except for two letters in the end which are worn out.

The alphabet employed belongs to the Telugu-Kannada type of letters which was prevalent in the Telugu inscriptions of the period A. D. 800 to 1100. The characters used are big and bold.

The points that call for notice in respect of orthography are the following:—

1. In the words like Sudrakunḍu, Gurindagunṭa, Nevvapḍeni and Muṇḍu, the place of anusvāra was take up by the anunāsika (ṇa). This original anunāsika was changed into anusvāra and finally now into ardhānusvāra.

2. In the inscription, no distinction was made between the long and short vowels. Where we now use long vowels, only short vowels were employed eg. Raju, Rukalu, Darapa, Dakiri etc.

3. The use of *vu* instead of *mu* in Dharmavu is old.

The language of the inscription, which is a short one consisting of seven lines only, is throughout old Andhra and it is partly prose and partly poetry, the first four lines being in prose and the last three in poetry.

The inscription does not give the genealogy of any line of kings nor does it deal with political matter. It deals with purely donative gifts of different kinds made to different persons. No date is given. However, from the use of several old Andhra words used in it which belong to the age of Nannayabhatta and also from the use of old type of Telugu-Kannada characters employed, we may observe that the inscription belongs even to the Pre-Nannaya age. It belongs in my opinion to the 10th century A. D.

The stone itself was discovered at Gurindagunṭa, a village in Bandar or Masulipatam Taluq of the Kistna District, and is situated close to Vadlamanadu Railway station. The name Gurindagunta is clearly mentioned in the inscription. The gifts mentioned in the grant were made to the Rattōdu of Gurindagunṭa and to others who might be village officials of the place. Another village is also mentioned in it, viz. Dakiri, which may be identified with the Dakaram village in Gudivada Taluq which is close to the place where the inscription was discovered.

The recipients of the grant are the following:—

1. Gurindagunṭa Rattōdu.
2. Nalva Chimmana.
3. Remiya.
4. Dēvonojjalu.
5. Darapa.
6. Dakiri Sree-Sāla.

TEXT. 1

1. Svasti [1st] Rima Raju noguna Sudrakundu Gurindagunṭa. [1st]
2. Rattōdaki 2 enurukalu [1st]²
3. Nalva chimmanaku drammanu [1st] 4 Remiyaku Drammanu, 4[1st]

1. From the original stone. I am thankful to Messrs. C. Narayanarao M.A., and M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., for helping me in the reading of this text.

2. Vide note in the end.

3. The word means Five Rūkas which may be equivalent to Re. 1—4—0 in modern coin. For one Rūka, in Sreenadha's time (XV century) a splendid meal was given. In his Kridābhīramam, the poet writes:

“కప్పరభోగివంటకము కమ్మని గోధుమపిండివంటయన్
గుప్పడు పంచదారయను గొత్తకగాచిన యాలనేపెసర్
పప్పును గొమ్మనల్లనంటిపండ్లును నాలుగు నైదు పంజాబున్
లప్పలతోడ గొల్లంబెరుగు లక్ష్మణయోజ్జల యింట రూకవన్.

The word Rūka is still current in Cuddapah, Chingleput and other districts and is equivalent to 4 as.

4. “Thick pieces of silver, derived from Sessanian type but degraded in execution, are found in Rajaputana, Malwa and Gujerat. They are called Gadhiya Paisa and Cunningham identified the same with the *Sadbodhika Drammas* of Jaunpur inscription. They weigh 60 to 65 grains”.-Rapson's Andhra Ccins. The *Sabdaratnakaram* explains the word as meaning a gift or charity but this is unsatisfactory.

4. *Devonojjalakū⁵ mundu drammamulu, Darapaku Drammamulu.*[1*]
5. *Siddhāyabu⁶ Dakiri Sreesalaku⁷ bandunū vadla-pattu,*⁸
6. *Nalvaru pannasa⁹ karur (అం) (pachu) varu¹⁰*
7. *Rattodlu nevvandēni rakshinchu vānida dharmaru¹¹* [1*]

Translation.

1. Hail! To the merit of king Rima, Sudraka (made the gifts)
2. To the headman of Gurindagunṭa, five Rukas,
3. to Nalva Chimmana one drammamulu, to Remiya one,

On p. 184 of V. A. Smith's Oxford History of India, Drammas are identified with Drachma, the Sassanian coins. A dramma is equal to nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Rupee in weight according to the above account. But from the Hindu measures and weights, we learn that one Dramma is equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Nishka or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Suvana weighing 20 gurinda seeds. It is also equal to 5 Phanams. See also Ind. Ant 1918 p. 76.

5. See note under 3. The word means Vedic reciters or priests in a God's temple.

6. Ready income free from all obligations.

7. It means "to the Lakshmi temple in the village of Daka-ram" in Gudivada Taluq.

8. Land which can be sown with 10 Tūmus or 40 measures (Kunchams) of grain. It is equivalent to a puttī of land which is equal to 8 acres.

9. The words Panneya and Panya are found in Kanarese and mean "Land which originally belonged to the king and which was leased out on condition of his resuming it whenever he liked." There seem to be various kinds of Pannasa or Land tenure. For instance, in a western Chalukyan grant, we get "unjamanna Pannasa" and in Saktivarma's Prabhupattī plates which belong to the first quarter of the 11th century, we get "chigoja Pannasa." In our grant, the tenure seems to be free from the four kinds of obstacles which are mentioned in an inscription of Vishnuvardhana IV who ruled in the latter half of the 9th century thus:—

అరియ దగు తెరెయ, సిద్దాయబు, దండు, అపరాధము.

ariyu dagu tereyu siddāya(m)bu, danḍu, aparādhamu.

These may mean exaction, fixed tax, fine and attachment respectively.

10. This word is not clear. The letters in brackets are worn out and indistinct. According to the reading given here, the word means the removal of obstacles. (the four kinds mentioned above).

11. Dharmuvu, Dharmamu, Dammuvu and Dharmavu are all found in the inscriptions.

4. To the divine priests three drammas, To Darapa one.
5. As "free" income to the Lakshmi temple of Dakiri, land which can be sown with ten Tūmus or 40 kunchams of grain.
6. This Pannasa tenure shall be enjoyed free from obstacles.
7. Whoever among the village headman will protect this gift will be the actual donor of it.

RATTODLU.

The words "Rattodu and Rattodlu" found in the second and sixth lines in the inscription are also found in several inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries as well as in Telugu literature. In *Sivatatvasaram*, published in Andhra Sahitya Parishad Patrika, we get the line "Rajulu Rattāllu Naguta Ravellitikin," and the word Rattāllu was explained as meaning "Redlu." The word Rattagudi is found in several inscriptions details of which are noted on page 67 of Raja Raja Sanchika by Mr. M. S. Sarma. For instance, we get Mahendra Rattagudi, chalki Rattagudi and here the word means the Reddi or headman of the place prefixed. The plural forms are found to be Rattagudlu, Rattagullu, Rattallu, Rattadlu or Rattodlu etc. For instance, we get Marpidugu Rattagudlu, Gurindagunta Rattodlu. The word Rattaguttu is also found in the early inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries. Rattaguttu seems to be the Telugu form of "Rashtrakuta" which is found in several inscriptions of Rashtrakuta kings as Rattakuta and Rashtrakuta also. Allusions to Rattas Rattaraja, Rattamandal are found in several inscriptions. Similarly, allusions to Rattagudi are found in inscriptions e. g. Kamma-ratta-gudi, Chola-ratta-gudi, Salki-ratta-gudi which mean ratta chief in Kamma, Chola and Chalukyan countries. Rattagudi thus seems to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit word Rāshtrakūṭa. In several Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions of the period 8th to 11th century A. D., we get the following:—"Gudrahāra Vishaya nivasinō Rāshtrakuta Pramukhan Kutimbinassarvan Samāhuya" etc. Both Vishnu-Vardhana IV and Vijiyaditya II who ruled in the latter half of the 8th century and first half of the 9th century A. D. respectively, use the word 'Rāshtrakuta Pramukhān.' This Rashtrakuta seems to be a later Sanskrit form of Telugu Rattagudi which is used in several earlier inscriptions of Telugu Cholas of Nellore and Cuddapah which belong to the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. The Rashtrakutas or Ratta-gudis are

+ Vide Vol. X p. 16 Verse 200.

పూజించుదు పూజించుదు పూజించుదు శివుని భక్తిఁ బూజించుదు మీ
 రోజునెడి నడవనందుదు రాజులు రట్టగూడలు రావెల్లికిన్.

addressed along with Kutimbinaś who are cultivators. This word Rattagudī changed into Rattādi, Rattoḍu by the dropping of 'Ga'. Hence, the plural forms Rattādḷu and Rattodḷu. In the list of Nellore inscriptions mentioned by Mr. M. S. Sarma in Raja Raja Sanehika, we find the words Raddōdi, Raddōḍi, Ratta, Raddi and Redḍi. The words Redḍoḍu and Redḍi are still used for village headman in Cuddapah district. In my opinion, it was by the close of the 12th century that the word Rattagudī was finally changed into Reddi.

Further, from the list of inscriptions mentioned in Ep. Ind. Vol. VII p. 215, we learn that Ratta and Rāṣṭrakūṭa were names of a family chief belonging to "Rashtroda Vamsa". A corruption of this word is found in Ratthoda, and Rattoḍa. Thus, the original family name seems to be Ratta which changed into the Sanskrit from Rāṣṭrakūṭa and from it came the corrupt form Rāṣṭroda and Rattoḍa. I am thankful to my friend Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao for bringing to my notice the existence of the words Rattadi-kāmu and Rattadi-kamu. (Vide S.I.I. Vol. IV p. 408). These words denote the office of the "Reddi." To-day, "Reddikamu" or Raddikamu" is used popularly to denote a particular sitting-posture which, in all probability, might have derived its meaning from the holder of the office in olden times.

A NOTE ON THE IPURU PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA III.

709 (715?) — 749 (751?) A. D.

By BHAVARAJU V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.

Dr. Hultzscli edits this grant in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVIII at p. 58 from inked impressions prepared by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri Ayl, B.A. The inscription is an important one for more than one reason, and therefore deserves to be carefully studied. It has been mis-read in two important places, and the mis-reading has led Dr. Hultzscli to advance new theories which are apparently untenable and even incorrect. I do not however propose to re-edit the record, for those two or three mis-readings only, but deal with the erroneous and fantastic conclusions drawn by him, and then discuss the importance of the grant.

The inscription, belongs to the Eastern Chalukya Vishnuvardhana Maharaja III, the son of Vijayasidhi, and son's son of Vishnuvardhana II. It records an order issued in the twenty-third year of his reign by Vishnuvardhana [III] of a gift of a piece of a land, and a house-site together with a flower garden, in Jalayuru, in the district of Polnārdu, to a brahman Keśavaśarma, the son of Tali Sarman, and grand-son of Aggi Sarman, of Ātreya gotra and Hirṇyakeśi sutra, on the auspicious occasion of *Samkranti*. The grant was made by the daughter of Sri Maghimduvaraja,¹ Prithivi pothi,¹ whom Dr. Hultzscli considers to have been one of the queens of Vishnuvardhana III. Dr. Hultzscli identifies further, the king Maghimduvaraja with Mahendra Varman (III), the Pallava ruler of Kanchi, rather cautiously, and concludes that the scribe might have mis-spelt the word with his characteristic carelessness. He supports this conclusion by boldly assuming a sort of Pallava origin for 'pothi', the second member of the donor's name. And in order to substantiate this theory of the Pallava origin, and thereby make the donor, the daughter Mahēndravarman III, he finds a close connection between Eastern Chalukya and Pallava dynasties, from the supposed existence of some amount of resemblance, in the panegyrical descriptions of the kings, in their respective grants.

1. The reading is that of Dr. Hultzscli, but it is shown below how the reading is not justifiable.

Dr. Hultsch in the first place assumes without any justification whatsoever, Prithivipothi to have been a queen of Vishnuvardhana III. Evidently, he thought so when he identified Maghimduvaraja with the Pallava ruler Mahendravarman III. The lady's husband's name is nowhere mentioned in the grant either expressly or by implication. She is referred to only as the "Dear daughter of Sree Maghimduvaraja." His conjecture therefore is certainly unfounded, and it can be attributed only to his erroneous reading of the inscription. And further I am inclined to think that the reading of the word as Maghimduvaraja is also quite untenable. No doubt the dot denoting the *anusvara* is placed on the letter *ghi* though it ought to have been on or after the letter *ma*, for then the whole word reads as Manghiduvaraja. We find for instance in a stone inscription² of the time of Vijayaditya III (844-888 A.D.) in Kandukuru, Nellore district, the dot denoting the *anusvara* is placed on the following letter, when it is clearly meant to be read with the preceding one. The word that occurs there is, the name of Pānduranga, the famous general of Vijayaditya III. The word is written as Pādumragam, the *anusvara* dots appearing on *du* and *ga*. If however, the word is read as it was written, it certainly has no meaning whatsoever. Similarly in the stone inscription of Yuddhamalla II in the Mallesvarasvamin's temple at Bezvada,³ *anusvara* dot appears on the next letter (l. 14), though it should have been placed either on the preceding letter or after it. Again in the Koṇḍānāgūru grant of Indravaraman⁴ also, this peculiar feature of placing the *anusvara* dot on the following letter can be noticed. The word which occurs there is the name of a village called Mumzuṇūru which Dr. Hultsch erroneously reads as Muzumṇūru. The name as read by him certainly conveys no idea and is therefore impossible of identification, since there is no village of that name in the whole of Andhradesa. But if read as Mumzuṇūru, it can be identified with the modern village of Mumjūṇūru in the Kaikalūru Taluk of the Krishna District. This practice of placing *anusvara* dot on the next following letter might not be entirely due to mere carelessness or mistake but to a prevailing custom among the writers in the country from the 7th century onwards down to the 10th.

If, then, the name of the princess, Prithivi-pōthi, is read as Manghiduvaraja, it becomes then quite easy to identify him with Mangi yuvaraja, for in old Telugu *du* and *yu* are clearly interchan-

2. See Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty; Nellore Inscriptions Vol. II plate 2, facing page 542, Kandukuru inscriptions, Nos. 31 and 32.

3. Ep. Coll. No. 323 of 1892; See also Journal of the Telugu Academy. Vol. VI p. 63 line 14. Ep. Ind. Vol. XV p. 150.A.

4. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII. p. 1, at 3. Text line 19.

geble and therefore *duvaraja* becomes *yuvaraja*.⁵ The scribe is evidently careless in writing *ghi* for *gi* also in the name Manghi.⁶

It is therefore interesting to note that the donor of the grant was the *daughter* of Mangi Yuvaraja and not of the Pallava king Mahendravarman III. Now the question arises, what is the relationship between this lady, Prithivipōthi and the reigning king Vishnuvardhana Maharaja III? In line 8 above of the inscription, it is said that Vishnuvardhana Maharaja was the son of Vijaya, sidhi and son's son of Vishnuvardhana. The name of Vijayasidhi⁷ is quite familiar to us as the title borne by Maharaja Mangi yuvaraja himself. The chief historical interest of the inscription lies, therefore, in the mention of a new member of the Eastern Chalukya family, who appears to be a *sister* and not a queen of Vishnuvardhana III as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch.

The next thing that led Dr. Hultzsch to discover a sort of close connection or relationship between the Pallavas and the Eastern Chalukyas is, the word *pōthi*, which forms part of the name Prithivipōthi. *pōthi* is considered by him to be a feminine derivative of *pōta* which is known to have formed part of the names of the Pallava kings.⁸ But it appears that *pōta* came to be used in the names of Pallava kings of later times only, and there is no evidence also of its having formed part of the names of the earlier kings. Be that as it may, but still the connection between the two dynasties is too far fetched, and is based on slender authority. I do not agree with Dr. Hultzsch in his reading of the letter *thi* (𑀭) as such. It is clearly (𑀭) *ri*. The difference between the two letters can be easily noticed since they occur in the same line and word, Prithivipōthi. In *thi* there is only a dot in the body of the letter while there is a horizontal stroke in the second letter, which clearly makes it (𑀭) *ri*. The scribe, no doubt, is careless in writing the letter, and leaves the reader much in doubt, for it does not resemble *ri* in line 15 and 24 where it occurs in the names of the river Eliyēru and the *ajñāpati* Kadēyaṛāya. The letter is not written properly as it should have been, but I have satisfied myself by a careful examination of the original plates themselves lent to me by the owner, through

5. See Ep. Ind. Vol XVIII p. 257 where Dr. Hultzsch admits that the word *duvaraja* is a Dravidian *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *Yuvaraja* and compares it with the Tamil *Tuvarasan* which also corresponds to *yuvaraja*. See his note No. 5 on p. 180 in Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. S.I.I; Vol 11 No. 73, text lines 103 & 106 where *yuvaraja* and *Tuvarasan* occur.

6. Note the word Mangi is also written as Mangi in the Masulipatam plates of Ammaraja I, Ep. Ind. Vol. Vp. 131.

7. See Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 105. where Mangi-yuvaraja calls himself as Vijayasidhi and Sarvalokasraya.

8. See S. I. I. Vol, II p. 34 I.

the kind intervention of my friend Mr. K. Raghavayya Chowdari and I believe this scribe meant only *ri* but not *thi*.

If we then, read the letter as *ri*, the meaning of the word *pōri* becomes quite clear. In old Telugu we come across the word *pōri* (పోరి) as the feminine derivative of *pōradu*, (పోరాడు) which means a youth.⁹ If that be so, it is certainly interesting to find that in olden days *i. e.*, as far back as the eighth century, the word *pōri* was added as an honourable suffix to the names of ladies of the royal blood. I hope, I will not be considered too bold if I suggest, that *pōri* meant an unmarried girl or even a comparatively young girl in point of age. Whatever that might be, we have at present no means of finding out the etymological meaning of the word, and cannot therefore conjecture whether Prithivipōri was an elder or younger sister of the king.

None of the localities mentioned in the grant except plōl. nāṇḍu have been identified by Dr. Hultzsch. It is no wonder that he could not do so being unacquainted with the geography or the local traditions of the part of the country to which the grant belongs. Plōlnāṇḍu is Prōlnāṇḍu, referred to in many Eastern Chalukya and Reddi grants, and it corresponds to the eastern half of the present East Godavari District comprising the *talukas* of Rāmachandrapuram, Cocanada and Peddāpuram and the divisions of Tuni and Pittāpuram. The agricultural population of the district still use the name for that part of the district. The next locality is **Kommara** which can be identified with the village of that name in Ellore taluk in West Godavari District, but the village, has come to be spilt up into two villages, North Kommera and South Kommera. Jalayuru is Jalluru in Pittapuram division. The place, is noted for its ancient Jain remains and it is very unfortunate that the place has not been examined till now at all, by the Government Archaeological Department. Eliyeru is the modern river Elēru which flows through the present town of Pittapuram. **Kakandivada** offers some difficulty as there is no village of that name in that locality. But I am inclined to identify it with the modern city of Cocanada, which is not very far and which is pronounced as **Kākināda** in Telugu. **Kakāndi**¹⁰ we know, has become **Kākani**; and it is just possible therefore for **Kākanivada** (**Kākani-vāda**) to have become **Kākināda**, dropping the medial consonant *va*. As no particulars are forthcoming for the present regarding the discovery of plates, it is possible to say how they could have travelled into the Guntur District, crossing the rivers, Godavari and Krishna. It might be

9 Vide *S'abdaratnakaram* by B. Sitharamacharyulu.

10 See S. I. I. Vol. IV (Texts) p. 221 Ep. Nos. 700, 701, 702. The Village name in Sanskrit is referred to as **Kakāndi** and in Telugu as **Kākani**.

that the donee's successors and heirs have carried the plates with them, at a latter period, when they migrated to some place south of the river Krishna,

Another circumstance which makes the inscription equally interesting and important, is the occurrence of a hitherto unknown letter (∞) la, in Telugu. It occurs in the name of Tajisarman, father of Kesavasarmān, the donee of the grant, and also in the beginning of line 5 where instead of *cha*, la (∞) is written. We do not know yet whether the word Chalukya was also written as ∞ lukya. But for the present we will satisfy ourselves that the scribe wrote *lā* for *cha*, by mistake.

The letter ∞ la has a very interesting history behind it. It has long since ceased to exist in the Telugu language. The original pronunciation and the letter have become merged into *ḍa* (ḍ) in Telugu, and *la* (ḷ) in Kanarese. It however remains in its original form in Tamil. Till very recently the existence of such a letter or its sound has not been suspected or even noticed. It was late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao M.A., who first discovered it while reading the stone inscription of Yudhamalla II (927-934 A.D) in the temple of Mallesvarasvamin at Bezwada.¹¹ His discovery has roused much controversy and opposition from the classic school of pandits led by Mr. K. Brahmayya Sastri who, for want of historic sense, did not accept the theory. The letter and the sound are quite peculiar to the Dravidian group of languages and therefore did not originally exist in the Telugu-kannada alphabet which is considered to have originated from the Asokan script. The Telugu-kannada scribes therefore, had to invent a form to denote the sound. The letter appears in several ancient inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, prior to the 11th century in various words. Its form, too, came to be gradually changed: it was originally written as ∞ , like two circles drawn closely together, but later on when the cursive form of writing became popular during the latter part of the ninth century, it came to be written as double ra (*bandi ra* ∞) but without the horizontal stroke in the middle. The following are the inscriptions in which letter la appears in Telugu country.

(1) Stone inscription of Yudhamalla II, Jour. of the Andhra Academy, Vol. VIII p. 256 ff., Ep. Ind. Vol. XV p. 150-A.

See lines 7, 8, 11, 15, 23, 28, 30, 41, 42, and 45, where it appears as an independent letter and lines 3 to 9, 12, 14, 22, 24, 27, 31, 43, and 44 where it occurs as a *samyuktakshara* or joint letter.

(2) Edēru plates of Vijayaditya

See line 25, it appears in the

II (799—843), Ep. Ind. Vol. V, P. 118 name of a person Bōlama.

(3) Satyaditya's Malapadu stone inscription (Circa 10th century) Ep. Ind. Vol. XI p. 345 (Telugu) Malapadu. See lines 1 and 8.

(4) Copper-plate grant of Puṇyākumara, Ep. Ind. Vol. XI. p. 337.

(5) Ep. Col. No. 883 of 1917, stone ins. of Vikramaditya I on the Indrakila Hill, (909 A.D.) Jour. Andhra Academy, Vol. VII. p. 227. See line 4.

(6) Copper-plate grant of Chāluḡya Bhima II (934-945 A.D.) Ep. Ind Vol. V p. 134. I. See line 17. It occurs in the name of a person.

(7) Timmapuram plates of Vishnuvardhana I (615—633 A.D.) See line 11, it appears in the name of a district Plakivishaya.

(8) Copper-plate grant of Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya I (circa 660) Ep. Ind. Vol. IX p. 98. See line 22, it occurs in the name of village Kolachumakonru.

In the last mentioned two records, the letter appears in its older form as in our present grant. From the foregoing epigraphical evidence, it is clear that the letter and the peculiar pronunciation *la* existed in the Telugu country in various words *eg*, verbs, nouns, common and proper, prior to the eleventh century. The letter and the sound seem, to have disappeared in the early part of eleventh century, *i.e.* before the epoch of Nannaya, owing to the powerful and overwhelming influence of Sanskrit on Telugu.

PEDAVEGI COPPER—PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A. L. T.,

These plates were edited in Telugu by my friend Mr. M. S. Sarma in *Bharathi* dated August 1924 and by kind permission, I am now editing them in English. It is a set of five copper-plates containing on the whole 25 lines and it was discovered near Pedavegi, eight miles to the north of Ellore and transmitted to the *Bharathi* office for publication by Mr. V. Viswanatha Sarma, M.A. Lecturer in the Government Training College, Rajahmundry.

The first plate is inscribed on the second side only, while the second side of the fifth plate contains only one line. Each plate measures $6\frac{4}{5}$ " by $2\frac{1}{10}$ ". Each plate contains three lines on each side. The five plates are held together by a ring which is two and half inches in diameter. The ring has a seal measuring $1\frac{4}{5}$ " and on it is fixed an image which is said to be indistinct. But, since on the Kantēru copper-plates of Śāṅkayana Nandivarman,¹ an image of Nandi (Bull) has been noticed by the editor, the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, I take the image on the seal of these plates to be that of Nandi. The image of Nandi has been found not only on the seals of the Śāṅkayanas but also on those of the Pallavas, the Gangas of Kalinganagara and other Dynasties. The five plates were numbered by the original scribe and this practice of numbering has been found in all their grants.

The inscription which contains 25 lines, is in a state of good preservation. The alphabet employed belongs to the old form of Telugu-Kannda type and is called *Vengi-lipi*. In this *lipi*, inscriptions were written till the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

The points that call for notice in respect of orthography are the following:—

(a) In words like Vengi, Nandi, Śāṅkayana, Chencheruvu, Munduru, and Samantha, the sound of *anunāsika* has taken the place of *anusvāra*, as usual in all old inscriptions

(b) The characters, *na* and *tha* resemble closely. So also *na* and *tha*.

(c) In the last line, the fifth letter which is given as 'bhi' should be read as 'nu' and the seventh letter which is given as 'na' should be read as 'nitha'. The language of the inscription is

1. Journal of the Andhra Academy Vol. XI, pages 113 to 127.

Sanskrit and it is entirely in poetry. The last four lines contain the two usual imprecatory verses. The use of certain words like "Arutore" "Vishnugrihasvami," "Munuda" etc., shows that the Sanskrit language used was not of a high order.

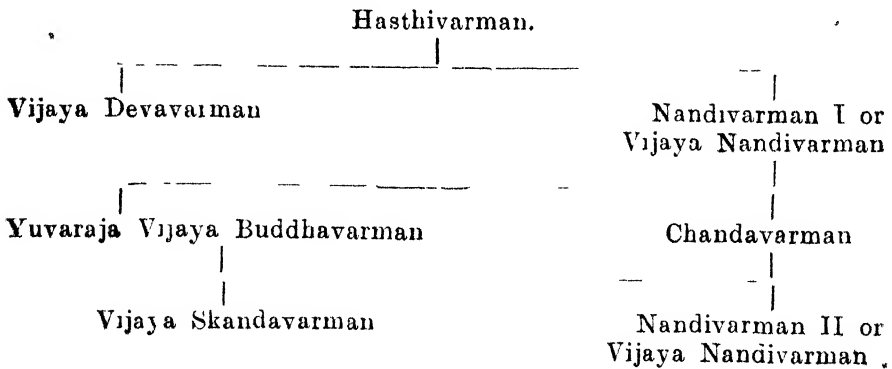
The genealogical list given in these plates is very important. It is mentioned that the great grand-son of Maharaja Hasthivarman of victorious Vengi who won victories in several battles, the grand-son of Maharaja Nandivarman who granted several kinds of gifts, the eldest son of Maharaja Chandravarman who by his prowess controlled several vassals, was the Maharaja Salankayana, Sri Nandivarman, who was the worshipper of the feet of God Chitradha svamin, who was devoted to the feet of Bappa bhattaraka and who was *Paramabhāgavatha* himself.

So far, excluding this grant, six inscriptions are known to us in which the names of these Salankayana kings have been mentioned. Of these, a prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished; but two kings mentioned in it are known to us as Vijayanandivarman Yuva maharaja and Vijayabuddhavarman. The late Mr. Lakshmanarao edited in *Andhra Sahitya Parishatpatrica* Vol. XI, two Salankayana inscriptions discovered in Kanteru near Guntur and these belong to Nandivarman and Skandavarman. Another Salankayana inscription which was discovered in Kollair lake and which belongs to Vijaya Nandivarman, eldest son of Chandavarman was published in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. V by Mr. Elliot. A prakrit inscription discovered at Ellore which belongs to Vijayadevavarman was published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX. Lastly, we know that Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription clearly mentions about his defeat of Hasthivarman of Vengi. This Hastivarman has not been mentioned in any other Salakayana grant except in the present one and hence its importance.

Now, from these seven inscriptions, discovered so far, we get the names of certain Salankayana kings of Vengi. Of the kings mentioned in all the seven inscriptions, Hastivarman of Vengi mentioned in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription may be identified with the one mentioned in our plates. Chandavarman and his son Vijayanandivarman mentioned in the Kollair sanskrit inscriptions may be safely identified with those mentioned in our present grant. Nandivarman of Kanteru sanskrit inscription is the same as the donor of our grant. He may be called Nandivarman II. Since he is mentioned as the eldest son of Chandavarman in these plates, it is possible that Vijayaskandavarman of the Kanteru plates may be the second son of Chandavarman and so a brother of Nandivarman II. As proof of this, we get the discovery of both their inscriptions together in Kanteru. The language and characters of

both are similar, and in both, gifts were made to Brahmins of *Maudgalya gotra* and hence the probability of both being brothers. Vijaya Nandivarman of the Ellore prakrit inscription must be identified with the Nandivarman I mentioned in our present grant which describes him as the son of Hasthivarman. That inscription being a prakrit one must be regarded as clearly earlier in age. In that inscription, Yuvamaharaja Vijaya Buddhavarman was mentioned and he might be the son of Vijaya Nandivarman I. Both the names are found together in the same plates. In these as well as in the earlier Pallava grants also, we find the names of the *Yuvaraja* or heir-apparent and the reigning monarch mentioned together.

Vijaya Devavarman mentioned in the Ellore prakrit inscription must be considered as one of the earliest kings of the line since his inscription is a prakrit one. I take him therefore to belong to the age of Hasthivarman. He may be an younger son of Hasthivarman. Subject to this hypothesis, and helped by the order given in our present plates we may construct the following pedigree:—



The importance of the present grant is that it mentions Hasthivarman as king of victorious Vengi. In Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, we read of Samudragupta's invasion of South India, and his defeat of Hasthivarman of Vengi. This invasion is considered to have taken place about 340 A.D. so that Hasthivarman of Vengi who is said to have been defeated by Samudragupta must be considered to have lived in the first half of the 4th century A.D. In the present grant, no era is given and no date is fixed but the grant is said to be made in the tenth regnal year of Nandivarman II. (Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsarasya Daśamasya 10). I am inclined to take Hasthivarman of the present grant as the same as the one mentioned in Allahabad Pillar inscription. In the present grant, no reference has been made to Vijaya Devavarman and Yuvaraja-Vijaya Buddhavarman. Evidently, these two princes did not rule as sovereigns. Now, allowing a

period of 25 years to each of the kings beginning from Hasthivarman, we get 440 A.D. as the final limit of the present Donor's rule. It was about this period that the Salankayanas were overthrown by Vishnukundin kings. Vikramendravarman II's Chikkulla inscription states that from Dendulur (Lendlur) near Ellore, the Vishnukundin kings ruled over Vengi Rajyam. Either Vikramendra Varman I or his father Madhavavarman might have defeated Nandivarman II or his younger brother Vijayaskandavarman about 450 A. D., and thus established the rule of the Vishnukundins over Vengi. It is said that Madhavavarman I, the first Vishnukundin king had married a Vakataka princess and with the help of the Vakatakas uprooted the Salankayanas and established his rule over Vengi.

THE GRANT.

The grant refers to gifts of land (*measured in Nivartanams*) in four different villages namely 1. Prālūru 2. Mundur 3. Chencheruvu 4. Kamburan cheruvu. Of these 2 and 4 exist even now in the Ellore Taluk. Prālūra may be the Paulura mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Ancient Geography*. If so, from the order given in Ptolemy's book, we may take the village to belong to Bandar or Masulipatam Taluk. Chencheruvu cannot be identified. In villages 1 and 2, ten *Nivartanas* of land (*bhumi nivartnani dasa*) were granted while in villages 3 and 4 *six nivartnas* of land (*bhumi nivartnani shatu*) were given. The land granted was termed '*Devahalam*' which may mean the same as *Devathogahalam* mentioned in Pallava grants. These words mean *Devamanyam* or *Devopolam* or land gifted away to God. The God mentioned is Vishnugrihasvamin, the lord of three worlds (Trilokanādhasya Vishnugrihaswami). It was for the support of this deity that so many *nivartanas* of land in the four villages were given to the cow-herds of Arutore (Arutore Vijayapalakas). The lands which were donated were declared free from all obstacles and taxes and the royal officers were ordered not to interfere with the said lands. The composer of the grant was called Mūlakṛabdhōjaka and the scribe was called Katikuri.

MEANING OF THE WORD SALANKAYANA.

Sālankāyana is said to be a Vedic sage.¹ Two Salankāyana gōtras are referred to in Pravara kanda of which one is Bhāradvaja Gōtra and has the Triarishayam namely Angirasa, Barhaspatya and Bharadvaja. The second is of Viswamitra Ganam and has Triarishayam, Viz., Viswamitra, *Salankayana* and Kausika. Panini mentions the word Salankayanaka as meaning the abode of the Salankayanas.

1. See the late Mr. K.V.L. Rao's article on Kaneru plates in Vol. XI Andhra-Sahitya Parishat Patrika.

According to the Sanskrit Dictionary *Medini*, the word is said to mean Nandi or bull, the image of which we get on the seals of the Salankayana charters.

SOME RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN THE SALANKAYANAS AND THE PALLAVAS

1. The earlier grants of both the Dynasties are found in the Prakrit language while the later ones are in Sanskrit.

2. Both place the Nandi or bull on the seal of their grants.

3. Both claim as belonging to Bharadwaja gotra.

4. While the Salankayanas worshipped Surya (Sun) in the form of Chitra Radha Swami, the Pallavas are known to be Agni (Fire) worshippers.

5. The early kings of both the dynasties claim to have performed the horse sacrifice.

6. The names of the early kings of both the dynasties closely resemble, compare Salankayana Vijayaskandavarman, Buddhavarman and Nandivarman with the Pallava Sivakandavarman, Buddhavarman and Nandivarman.

7. The suffix Varman is peculiarly common to both and the title Yuvaraja is taken up by the heir-apparent in both the dynasties.

8. Both the dynasties seem to have sprung up after the fall of Andhras and ruled over the adjoining countries. From the above resemblances, we may assume that both the dynasties were closely related. The common names prevailing among both the dynasties would suggest that they even had inter-marriages. (Compare the existence of identical names in the Later Eastern Chalukya and the Chola dynasties owing to inter-marriages). The Salankayanas and the Pallavas also bore the title Maharaja and this shows that they were independent of each other. The Pallava power did not spread beyond the right bank of the river Krishna as none of their inscriptions have been discovered in the lands on the other side of the river. The Salankayanas, as evidenced by their grants, ruled over the Vengi and Gudrahara Vishayas which correspond to modern West Godavari and Krishna Districts. In other words, the Salankayanas ruled over the country lying between the two great rivers, Godavari in the north and Krishna in the South. These tracts were comprised in the Andhra empire in the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. and after the fall of that Empire (about 226 A.D.), the Ikshvākus, the Brihatpalayanas and the Salankayanas seem to have risen up to power one after another and ruled over the country lying up to the left bank of the river Krishna, while the Pallavas succeeded to the country lying up to the right bank of the river Krishna.

THE RELIGION OF THE SALANKAYANA KINGS.

The Salankayana kings issued their grants from the victorious Vengipura. (Compare the victorious Kalinganagara of the E. Gangas.) They bore the title Maharaja and one of the earliest kings mentions in his grant as having performed horse sacrifices. The early kings seem to be Saivites, but in the present grant Maharaja Nandivarman claims to be a devotee of the feet of God Chitra Radha Swamin (Sun). (Compare similar statements of the Kalinga-nagara Ganga kings in their grants viz., devotees of the feet of God Gokarnaswamin). The Salankayana kings were also devoted to the feet of the revered Father. (*Bappabhattachāraka pādabhaktas*.) The Gupta, Vakataka, Pallava, and Ganga kings also bore a similar title viz. *Bappabhattachāraka pādānudyūtas*. The Salankayana kings called themselves Parama Bhagavatas. One of the early Salankayana kings Vijaya-devavarman, declares himself to be a *Paramamahesvara* and boasts of having performed a horse sacrifice. But in the other Salankayana charters, we do not hear about the performance of horse sacrifices. The later Salankayana kings do not call themselves *Parama Mahesvaras* but, instead, call themselves *Parama Bhagavatas*. It would appear that in ancient times, there were both Siva and Vishnu Bhāgavatas for, Patanjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions also Siva Bhāgavatas. The donor of the present grant, Nandivarman was devoted to the feet of God Chitraradhaswami. In China-Vegi, which formed part of ancient Vengipura, the capital of the Salankayanas, there is even now an old shrine in ruins popularly pointed out as Chitraradhaswamin's temple. Chitra-Radha is identified with Sun and a Solar disk is said to be found on the seal of the Kaneru inscription¹. Evidently, the Salankayanas worshipped the Sun-God, and several such Sun temples have been found to exist in Nellore, Ganjam and Puri Districts,² In the present grant, Nandivarma gives lands for the benefit of *Trilokanāḍha Viṣṇugrihaswami*. Probably, the later Salankayanas were converts to Vishnu cult.

SALANKYANAS AND SAMUDRAGUPTA'S INVASION.

Samudragupta in his Allahabad pillar inscription claims to have defeated, captured and then released several kings then ruling over the countries lying along the Eastern coast of the Dakhan and mentions Hasthivarmn of Vengi as one of them. Now from the present grant we learn that Hastivarman of victorious Vengi won several battles over his enemies. Which of these statements is to be believed? I believe that though Samudragupta came as far as the river Krishna, he was not allowed to go on his victorious march.

1. See late Mr. K.V.L. Rao's article in *Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika*.

2. *Ibid*.

by the rulers of the neighbouring countries viz Hastivarman, Maharaja of Vengi and Vishnugopa of Kanchi who ruled over all the countries extending up to the southern bank of the river Krishna. That Samudragupta indulged in a boast is proved by the facts that these countries of the South, were not comprised in his Empire and that the various kingdoms continued to enjoy their independence under their own dynastic rulers. Thus the present grant is important not only in informing us that Vengi under Hastivarman was always victorious against enemies but also in mentioning the name of Hastivarman which figures in the Allahabad inscription. On p. 61 of his book, Prof. Dubreuil writes thus:—“Of all the kings mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, there is only one who is known in other ways; It is Vishnugopa of Kanchi whose name figures in Vāyalur inscription.” We can now say that there is one more king Hastivarman, known to us in other ways viz, through the help of the present plates. On p. 89 of his book he writes further, that “it appears in fact that these kings (Salankayanas) came *after* the invasion of Samudragupta.” We can now say that at the time of the invasion, the Salankayana kingdom was at its height.

VENGIPURA.

Maharaja Nandivarma of the present inscription granted lands belonging to Munduru and other villages which are situated in Yernagudem and Ellore Taluks which formed part of the ancient Vengi mandala. The same Nandivarman in the Kantaru plates granted to a Brahmin the village of Kuruvēda in Kudrahara *Vishaya* which is mentioned as Gudrahara *Vishaya* in the inscriptions of several Eastern Chalukya kings. This Gudrahara is identified by some scholars with the modern Gudivada town, and by others with the modern *Guduru*, (Ptolemy's *Koddura*) a village near Masulipatam. Thus from the grants of Nandivarman II, we see that Vengi and Gudrahara Vishayas were comprised in the Vengi-rājya. In other words, the modern districts of West Godavari and Krishna were comprised in the ancient Salankayana kingdom. These very tracts, we know well, once formed parts of the ancient Andhra Empire. After the fall of that empire about 226 A.D., various dynasties succeeded to political power and ruled over various parts of the Empire. The Puranas mention that after the last Andhra king Pulmat, a race of kings called Andhrabhrityas would succeed to power. Now we know that after the fall of Śātavāhana dynasty, a large part of their empire in the South passed into the hands of the Chūtus and Mahārathis who often bore the title of Satakarni. Prof. J. Dubreuil writes in the *Ancient History of the Dakhan*, thus:—“The Chūtus succeeded the Andhras not only in Mysore but also in Aparanta near Bombay. The Mahārathis who have the same

reigned in the vicinity of Malaville and Chittaldurg. They bore the title of Nāga. It is probable that these Mahārathis, Nagas etc., who bore, like the Andhras, the title of Satakarni were the Andhrabhṛityas or servants of the Andhras who, as mentioned in the Purāṇas, succeeded the Śātavāhanas."

Thus, the Southern and Western parts of the Andhra Empire seem to have passed into the hands of the Chūtus or Nāgas while the country to the south of river Krishna was occupied by Pallavas and this is proved by the discovery of Pallava inscriptions at Mayidavole and other places in Guntur District. The Pallavas must have succeeded the Andhras about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Since none of their inscriptions are found in the lands to the north of the river Krishna we have to presume that other dynasties might have succeeded the Andhras in those regions, This is supported by the discovery of certain inscriptions belonging to different dynasties. The earliest was the Ikshvāku. Three inscriptions of a king called Madhariputra Sree Vira Purushadatta of the Ikshvāku race were discovered on the ruins of Jaggayyapeta Stupa, in the Nandigama Taluk of Krishna District, and since their alphabet is declared by paleographers to belong to 3rd century A.D., we have to consider that the Ikshvākus ruled over that part of the Andhra Empire about the middle of 3rd century A. D. Purushadatta calls himself an Andhrabhṛitya. Similarly, from the Koṇdamuḍi plates, we learn, that a certain Jayavarma of the Brihatpalayana race reigned at Kudura which was his capital. It is a Prakrit inscription and paleographers have ascribed it to the middle of 3rd century A. D. Evidently, the Brihatpalayanas succeeded to political power over the whole of Gudraharaviśaya. A village in Kuduharaviśaya which is mentioned in several plates as Kudrahara or Gudravara was given as gift by Jayavarma, who must have therefore ruled over that part of the country. The very same Kudrahara is mentioned in the plates of Salankayana kings as belonging to them. Hence, we have to take it that in the 4th Century A.D. the Salankayanas succeeded to the country once ruled over by Brihatpalayanas and that both these dynasties rose on the ruins of Andhra empire one after another. Vengi remained under the Salankayanas for only four or five generations, from the beginning of the 4th century to the middle of the 5th century A. D. and then passed into the hands of the Vishnukundins who from their capital, Lendulur, modern Dendulur (a suburb of Vengipura four miles off Ellore), ruled over Vengi-mandala from the middle of the 5th century to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. when the Western Chalukyan emperor Pulikesan II conquered it about 610 A. D. and appointed his younger brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana as Viceroy and by the

latter, in 615 A. D., an independent dynasty called "The Eastern Chalukyan Dynasty" was established and it remained in power for nearly six centuries.

Vengi was thus the seat of powerful dynasties and its history can be traced with the help of the epigraphical records from the early centuries of Christian era. An examination of the ruins of Vengi, clearly brings to our minds what an extensive and powerful city it must have been in its palmy days. Vengi or Vengipura or Vengi-nagara or Vijaya-Vengipura as the place is called in several inscriptions, lies eight miles to the north of Ellore. At present, we see near its ruins, two small hamlets called Pedavegi and Chinavegi. A few miles off, lies the village of Denduluru with its hamlets of Ganganagudem and Sēnagudem close by. In ancient times, all these villages might have comprised the rich and powerful city of Vengipura. At present, on the ruins of the ancient capital, we can see a few hamlets, several raised mounds of earth, big tanks, several old and ruined temples or their traces and ramparts and a large number of huge stones, images of bulls and Gods etc. One of such old temples is popularly known as Chitraradhaswamin's temple. A few miles off Vengi, lies the Kolleru lake whose beautiful description we get in Dandin's *Dasakumaracharitam*. The poet calls Vengi by the name Andhranagara and the ruler (Eastern Chalukyan king Jayasiha) was called Andhra-nāḍha. The big lake was described as being situated close to the capital and as containing beautiful lotuses, clear waters and several kinds of waterbirds. Vengi-rajya under the Salankayanas consisted, as I have already mentioned, of two *mandalas* or Provinces namely, the Vengi vishaya and the Gudrahara vishaya. Of these the later has been mentioned as being famous as a great centre of trade. The capital of the Kudrahara vishaya, Kuduru the modern Guduru is situated four miles to the west of Masulipatam. It is interesting to note in this connection that Ptolemy who wrote his *Geography* in the first half of 2nd century A. D. mentions the places Maisolus, Kontakossyla, Koddura in his book and states that from this part of the Eastern coast vessels carried merchandise and pilgrims to Indo-China, Burma and other eastern countries. These places are now identified with Masulipatam, Ghantasala (which lies 10 miles from Masulipatam and 6 miles from Guduru) and Guduru respectively, and these were great centres of trade in the early centuries of Christian era. Further, this part of the country also appears as the stronghold of Buddhism. The famous Buddhist stupa at Ghantasala affords proof of the same. Hiuen-Tsang who visited the country about 635 A. D. wrote in his book of travels that there were sixty Buddhist monasteries in the Vengi country with 3000 monks in them. He also wrote that there were 30 temples of the Hindus and a few Jain Viharas. He also stated that a few miles north-west of Vengi there was a beautifully

decorated storied monastery containing the image of Buddha and opposite to it there was a big Buddhist Stupa, but we do not find at present any traces of the same close to Vengi.* It must be certainly admitted that Buddhism was professed by a large section of the people and though the Salankayana kings were not Buddhists, they might have shown toleration to other creeds.

TEXT.¹

1st plate, second side.

ਸੁਸ੍ਵਸਤਿ ਵਿਜਯਾ ਵੇਂਗਿਪੁਰਾਨੇਕਾ ਸਮਾਰਾਵਪਤਵਿਜਯਿਨੋ
 ਹਸਤਿਵਰਮਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਸ੍ਯਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਪੁਤ੍ਰਾਹ ਵਿਵਿਦਧਾਦਰਮਮਾ-
 ਪ੍ਰਾਦਹਨਸ੍ਯਾ ਨੰਦਿਵਰਮਮਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਸ੍ਯਾ ਪਾਤ੍ਰਾਹ :

1. Svasti [1 *] Vijaya Vēṅgīpurāṇeika Samarāvaptavijayinō
1. 2. Hastivarmma Mahārājasya prapautrah Vividhadharmma-
3. pradhānasya Nandivarmma mahārājasya pautrah

2nd plate, first side.

ਪ੍ਰਾਤਾਪੋਪਨਾਤਾ ਸਮਾਂਤਸ੍ਯਾ ਚਾਨ੍ਦਾਵਰਮਮਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ-
 ਸ੍ਯਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰੋ ਜ੍ਯੇਸ਼ਠਾਹ ਭਗਵਾ ਚਿਤ੍ਰਰਾਠਾ-ਸ੍ਵਾਮਿ-
 ਪਾਦਾਨੁਦ੍ਧ੍ਯਾਤੋ ਬਾਪਾ² ਭਾਤਾਰਾਕਾ ਪਾਦਾ ਭਾਕਤਾਹ :

4. pratāpōpanata sāmāntasya Chāṇḍavarmma Mahārāja-
2. 5. sya putrō jyēṣṭhah Bhagava cChitraratha-Swāmi-
6. pādānuddhyātō Bappa² bhattāraka pāda bhaktah

* The reference is probably to the Guntapalli or Jeelakarragudem Buddhist Stupa which is worth a visit.

1. From the plates published in Bharati dated August 1924. I am thankful to the Editor for allowing me to reproduce them.

2. It was the name of the First Founder of the Pallava dynasty. But here it means 'father'.

2nd plate, second side

ಬೃಹದಾಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಜುಷ್ಯಾಃ
 ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವಿಷ್ಣುಃ ಸರ್ವವ್ಯಾಪಿ
 ಸರ್ವಭೂತಾಪಿಪಾತೃಃ

7. parama bhāgavataśśālikāyanō Mahārāja Śrī Nandi-
8. varmma Prāluragrāmē³ munuda⁴ sahitāngrāmēya
9. kansamājñāpayati [1*] asti asmaddharmma yasōbhi—

3rd plate, first side.

ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವಿಷ್ಣುಃ ಸರ್ವವ್ಯಾಪಿ
 ಸರ್ವಭೂತಾಪಿಪಾತೃಃ
 ಸರ್ವಭೂತಾಪಿಪಾತೃಃ

10. vrudhhyarththa Trilōkanāthasya VishṇugruhasvāmīnahaAru[⁵⁰]
3. 11. to re [3]⁵ vrajapālakānām krashtum dēvahalam⁶ krutvā
12. asmābhi rbhūmi nivarttāni⁷ daśa⁸ 10 tathaiva,

3. It may be the "Paulaura" mentioned in Ptolemy's Geograpy. It is situated in the Bander or Masulipatam Taluk of Kistna District.

4. 'Munuda' may be another form of 'muluda' which means old settlers.

5. In my opinion it may be a village name. But the word means in Kanarese language a 'holy river'

6. In several inscriptions, the word Devabhogahalam is also found. Devabhogahalam, Devahalam, Devapolam, Devamanyam and Devadayam all mean the same thing, e.g. land granted to the God.

7. "Nivartanalu" like "Putlu" denotes measurement of land. According to Sukranitisaram and Manusastram quoted by Mr. Sarma in his article, the lengths of 4 hands or 5 hands would make a dandam and 25 dandams would make one Nivartanam. But other authorities would suggest 30 dandams for one Nivartanam. A dandam means a staff measuring 4 or 5 hand lengths "Vrittih Vartana Jivanath" The words Parugu, Katti, Putti, Nivartana, Maruthi, Vrithi and Jivika-all denote measurement of land.

8. The number is given in figures

3rd plate, second side.

བུདྡུལ་ལྷ་མོ་འཁོར་མཆོད་པའི་ཕྱི་
 རྒྱལ་ལྷ་མོ་འཁོར་མཆོད་པའི་ཕྱི་
 རྒྱལ་ལྷ་མོ་འཁོར་མཆོད་པའི་ཕྱི་

13. Mundūragrāmē bhūmi nivarttanāni daśa^{8(a)} 10 Chencheru-
 14. vāgrāmē bhūmi nivarttanāni shaṭ^{8(a)} 6 tathai-
 15. va Kamburāncheruvē bhūmi nivarttanāni shaṭ

4th plate, first side.

འདྲེན་པའི་འདུལ་ལྷ་མོ་འཁོར་མཆོད་པའི་
 རྒྱལ་ལྷ་མོ་འཁོར་མཆོད་པའི་ཕྱི་
 རྒྱལ་ལྷ་མོ་འཁོར་མཆོད་པའི་ཕྱི་

16. dattāni tadavagamyā dēśādhipatyā-yuktaka valla-
 4. 17. bha¹⁰ rājapurushādibhir-parihartavyāni[*]
 18. pravarddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsarasya daśa

8(a) The number is given in figures again.

9. Cf. Adyakshas. It means Royal officers or Superintendents in charge of revenue matters.

10. Lords or hereditary nobles

4th plate, second side.

ಪ್ರತಿಪದಾ ಸ್ರಾವಣಮಾಸಾ ಸುಕ್ಲಪಕ್ಷಾ ಪ್ರತಿಪದ
 ದಿನದಿಹಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ
 ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ

19. masya 10 ^{8(a)} Sravana māsa Suklapakshasya pratipa-

20. di pattikā dattā ājñeptir¹¹ Mūlakura Bhōjaka¹²

21. likthitam rahasyādhikrutēna Kātikuriṇā [*]

5th plate, first side.

ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ
 ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ
 ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ ದತ್ತಾ

22. ¹³bahabbhirvvasudhā dattā bahubhischānupālītā

5. 23. yasya yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya tadāphalam

24. shashṭivarsha sahasraṇi svarggē kṛīḍati bhūmidah-

11. Executor or officer in charge of the grant. The same Mūlakura was the officer in charge of the Kollair grant of Vijaya Nandi Varma.

12. The word means Priest. It also means Village-head. It also means the holder of lands. In several Eastern Chalukyan grants, The word Boya is mentioned and it means the same as Bhojaka. Boya appears to be a later form of Bhojaka and means one who enjoys the land.

13. These last 4 lines are usually found in all inscriptions. They contain the usual 2 verses which are imprecatory and benedictory.

5th plate, 2nd side.

ಕೃಷ್ಣವೃತ್ತನಿಷ್ಕೃತ ಸತ್ಯಕೃತ್ಯವಾಚಿಃ

25. ākshēptā chābhi¹⁴ mantācha tanyēva narakē vasē ditih. [*]

TRANSLATION.

- Ll. 1-8: Hail! The great grandson of Maharaja Hastivarma, lord of the victorious Vengipura, [who] won victories in several battles, the grand-son of Maharaja Nandivarma [who] performed several kinds of gifts, the eldest son of Maharaja Chanda-varma who by his prowess controlled several vassals, the Salankayana Maharaja Sri Nandivarman, who was the worshipper of the feet of God *Chitraradhaswami*, who was devoted to the feet of *Bappa Bhattaraka* (revered Father) and who was Parama Bhāgavata himself, thus commands the inhabitants of the village of Prāluru and its old settlers:
- Ll. 9-12: Having made, for the increase of my *Dharma* and fame, the gift of *Devahalam* cultivable, to the cow-herds of *Arutore* belonging to *Vishṇugrihaswami*, the Lord of the three worlds, I have granted 10 *nivartanas* of land (in that village).
- Ll. 13-15: Similarly, in the village of *Munduru* 10 *nivartanas* of land, in the village of *Chencheruvu* 6 *nivartanas* of land and similarly, in *Kambuvancheruvu* 6 *nivartanas* of land are granted.
- Ll. 16-18: Be it known! These gifts shall be freed from all obligations, by the vassal rulers of the country, revenue officers, Lords and Royal servants etc.
- Ll. 19-21: This Pattika (patrika) is granted on the day of *Sukla pādyami* in the month of *Srāvana* in the 10th regnal year of the prosperous and victorious reign.
- Ll. 22-25 Then follow the two usual imprecatory verses which cover up the last 4 lines of the inscription.

14. "bhi" may be a mistake for "nu"

THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF THE
**ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY.**

Vol. 1

JANUARY 1927.

No. 3

A NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATION ON THE COVER.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

The illustration on the cover and on the title page of this issue of the journal has been reproduced from a photo of the sculpture taken by me at Amaravati on 18th December 1924 when I took a party of the college students on a historical excursion to study the remains of the Amaravati Stupa.

The subject-matter of the illustration, as can be seen, was carved on marble stone with great elegance and detail. A few marble stones have now been grouped together and formed into what looks like a miniature Stupa close to the ground where once stood the great Buddhist Stupa. A stupa, as may be known to several readers, is a funeral mound raised generally over the sacred relics of the Buddha. It consists of a broad base which supports a dome containing the relic. Above this is placed the spire with one or more roofs.

The Amaravati Stupa is situated on the south bank of the Krishna about twenty miles from Bezwada. In 1797 it was broken open by a local Zamindar who wanted to use the material for his building. Col. Mackenzie who came to know of it paid two visits in 1816 and 1819 and made several drawings from the slabs of the railing and from the base of the Stupa. Further excavations were made in 1845 and the remains obtained were sent to the British Museum. In 1881 the Madras Government made more excavations and some of the sculptures found are now to be seen in the Madras Museum.

The Stupa is an old one though not so old as the Stupa, Chaitya and the monastery found at Sankaram which may belong to the Asoka age. A stone slab found on the site is said to contain

the following important subject matter of an inscription "Hail! In the year.....of the illustrious lord, the king Pulomayi, son of Vāsishṭi.....the merit of the gift of a Dharma-Chakra on the west door of the Chaitya of the Buddha in the possession of the Chetika School.....". From the discovery of this inscription on the site, one can learn that the Amaravati Stupa was in existence already by the time of Pulomayi who ruled in the latter half of the second century after Christ. Though some of the sculptures and inscriptions belong to the Post-Christian Era, the Stupa itself may be considered to have been built by the early Andhra kings.

The art of the sculpture is purely religious and owes its growth to that of Buddhism. The use of stone for the carving of the pictures must be ascribed to the Buddhistic influence. Generally, the subjects for sculpture are taken from the life of Buddha. But sometimes, representations of processions to holy places, and religious symbols, and contemporary dress etc., are also seen. Over-abundance of detail is the chief feature of this sculpture.

At the top of the illustration, one can see a floral design. Then, the upper part of the illustration is divided by means of five pillars which contain certain highly artistic details, into two divisions each of which is again sub-divided into two compartments by what looks like a pillar.

In the extreme right-hand corner, we can see the figure of a female lying on a cot with a group of four female attendants below and four male figures above—probably Vidyadharas. This may be a scene to depict the dream of Maya Devi, Mother of the Buddha. In the right-hand corner, we see a group of six seated figures engaged in worship. In the extreme left hand corner, we see the standing figure—probably of a Naga receiving worship at the hands of females facing to the left. In the left hand corner, we see four tall male figures and above them another group of four, all facing to the right and marching in a procession.

In the centre of the slab, is seen the figure of a seated Buddha preaching to ten persons, five on either side, of whom three are standing and two are sitting; two lions one on each side, are carved and they face each other with their usual majesty. At the back of the lions are two seated devotees and next to them is seen a miniature Stupa.

The top part of the bottom picture contains two seated lions facing the spectator. To the right of the lions on either side is found a wrestler and to the left two standing female figures. Below we get two beautifully carved out female figures supporting a stand which contains at the top of it a Dharma-Chakra or wheel of law. At the

corners of the top are seen two small figures probably Devaputras. Below the stand are seen two female figures in a kneeling posture and in a state of respectful adoration, and they are seated on a sculptured perspective of lotus.

On either side of this sculpture, we see a small jar, a vertical row of four Dharma-Chakras and a standing female figure with a pipe in the raised right hand. This structure is supported by massive pillars which are sculptured after the Graeco-Roman model. A grotesque image carrying a basket on the head is seen just by the side of the pillar on either side.

It is really admirable that so many details are carved out on a small white marble stone. The crowd of adoring spirits, the four huge lions seated in their majesty and pomp, the several Dharma-Chakras, the lotuses, the Nagas and other figures, the many pillars which contain minute artistic details and whose capitals remind us of the Corinthian style, the seated Buddha receiving worship and many more scenes from his life, and the large number of representations of sacred objects, all these so skilfully worked out on the hard stone remind us of the greatness and importance of the Andhra art. From the picture we also get an insight into the dress and manners of contemporary people. The dress of men consists of a loin cloth or Dhoti. The upper part of the body is bare. Sometimes a cloth is thrown above the shoulders in a loose way. Head dress is generally found in the form of a turban. The women in all the sculptures are seen clothed only in the loin cloth but their jewels for the wrists and the ankles and their head-dresses are very rich and beautiful. The upper part of the body is uncovered. The females wear an ornamented girdle, head, arm and leg jewels.

We are grateful to the Buddhists for the introduction of stone architecture and for such fine marble sculptures which rival those of Greece and Rome in art and which are incomparable for depicting religious themes.

THE KORNI COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGA.

Second Set, Saka Samvat 1034.

By G. V. SITAPATI, B. A., L. T.,

Lecturer in History, Rajah's College, PARLAKIMIDI.

The second set also contains 5 copper plates but these plates are larger in size than those of the first set. Each of these plates measures about $10\frac{1}{2}$ " by 6". The ring holding them is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 17" in circumference. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the lower portion of a circular seal about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in circumference, on which is fixed an image of the bull, Nandi couchant, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high. Round the Nandi, there are in the surface of the disc, the usual figures of conch-shell, chowrie etc. I cut the ring and detached the plates in order to take copies of them. The edges of the plates are very slightly raised into rims to protect the inscription. The inscription contains 138 lines. It has suffered at several places from corrosion and consequently, several 'aksharas' cannot be read with certainty.

The *Alphabet* employed belongs to the Old Canarese type and the characters are exactly like those used in the Vizag copper plate grant of *Anantavarma Chodaganga*, Saka 1040, edited and published by Dr. Fleet in Vol. 18 of the *Indian Antiquary*. The points that call for notice in respect of Orthography are as follows:—

1. û, r, r, l, l, ai, au—these vowels do not occur in this inscription.
2. chh, jh—these do not occur separately; they are found in combination with other consonants.
3. i, ga, ði, tha, ya, ra, la, m, h,—these are exactly like the corresponding Telugu characters of the present day; the mark representing 'a' is, however, different as noted in point 7 below.
4. a, â, i, u, ê, ô, kha, gha, ga, cha, ja, na, ña, ta, na, pa, ba, bha, ma, Ra, va, sha, sa—these are almost like the corresponding Telugu characters of the present day. 'â' is distinguished from 'a' by a small curved line at the top of the right corner of the symbol denoting 'a' (vide ll 84, 89, 119). It is not possible to say definitely whether ô and ê in "ômbravêlli" are really long or short. This is the name of a Telugu village which is still in existence and is known as "omaravilli".
5. ka, ða, sa—these are almost like the corresponding Canarese characters.

6. ta, tha, da, dha—these are slightly different from the corresponding Telugu characters of the present day.
7. The mark denoting 'a' attached to a consonant is shaped in the form of a crescent. 'u' attached to a consonant is represented in three different ways. In many cases, the mark resembling a horn as in "bhu" (l. 2) is attached to the proper right of the consonant. In some cases, as in "du" (l. 1) the same mark is attached to the lower part of the letter. In a few cases, as in "ssu" (l. 2) the mark resembling the Telugu figure o is attached to the proper right of the consonant. "mu" is represented in the first two ways (of. ll 102 and 1). "tsu" is represented in the first and third ways (of. ll 2 and 25). "ô" is represented in two ways; generally by the mark used now in Telugu and rarely by a combination of marks denoting 'ê' and 'û'. 'ô' and 'au' are not clearly distinguished; cf. "sô" (l. 66) and "sau" (l. 49).
8. The nasal sound, except before the cerebral consonants, is generally represented by the anusvâra. 'n' is combined with "ta" only in "antarhita" (L. 53). The anusvâra is used before a cerebral only in "kamḍikâ" (l. 49),—but this word ought to be "kaṇṭhikâ"—and in "kaṇṭham" in the same line.
9. Consonants other than "sh" and "k" coming after "r" are always doubled.

The *Language* of the plates is throughout Samskrit. The use of "niyatya" for "nihatya" (l. 47) and "abhrām liyam" for "abhrām liham" (l. 61) are probably due to the influence of Prakrit. The absolute construction of the past participle noted in my previous article occurs in this inscription also, (Vide ll. 120, 122-123, 127-128).

There are 40 slokâs:— 12 Sardûlavikrîḍitas, 11 Anushtubhs, 5 Sragdharas, 3 Upajâtis, 2 Vasantatilakas, 2 Vamsasthas, 1 Mandâkrânta, 1 Sikhiriṇi, 1 Manjubhâshini, 1 Viyôgini and 1 Svâgata. Some of the Anushtubhs are not composed according to the rule laid down in "स्तोके षष्ठगुरु, जेयं etc.

(Vide the 3rd quarter of जित्वा बह्, etc. ll. 37 38 and the first quarter of अनुरागेण गुणिनो ll. 84-85.)

The *Sandhi* rules are observed in the slokas but not always in the prose portion. Examples are not given because they are the same as those that occur in the first set.

There are many evidences to show that the language of the people in the Kalinga country was about the time of Anantavarma Chodaganga, Telugu. The Telugu verse, (Sîsa padyam) in the

Dirghāsi inscription edited and published by my father in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. iv., is the most conclusive evidence. That inscription refers to the time of Rājārāja, the father of Anantavarma. The absolute construction of the past participle referred to, in connection with the language of the plates, is probably due to the influence of Telugu idiom,

“Rāshṭra kûṭa pramukhān” (L. 107) is translated as the elders of the taluks. In some of the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. iv., we find “rāshṭrakûṭa” in the Samskrit portion and “rattadam” in the Telugu portion. From the context, I think that these words refer to a smaller division of a region of the kingdom.

The inscription records the *grant* of a piece of land to the Brāhmans residing in Khōnna and a reference is made to the grant recorded in the first set. There is one discrepancy in this inscription. Anantavarma says “The village, Khōnna was in Saka 1003, granted to 300 Brāhmans by my grand-father, Vajrahastadēva.” In the first set, we find that the grant was made by Anantavarma himself. In both the inscriptions, it is mentioned that Anantavarma was annointed king in Saka 999. The grantor could not, therefore, have been Vajrahasta if the grant was made in Saka 1003. Probably Vajra-hasta made an oral grant and Anantvarma recorded it in Saka 1003. The grant referred to in this inscription was made in Saka 1034 at the time of winter solstice. This date corresponds to the 1st January 1113. I am indebted to Sriman Nilamani Panigrahi Mahasayo (Parlakimidi) for this calculation.

The *Genealogy* of the *Ganga Kings* is traced from the Creator. The genealogical list agrees with what is given in the Vizag-grant of Saka 1040 but this grant contains more details than are given in the grant of 1040 regarding the exploits of some of the kings.

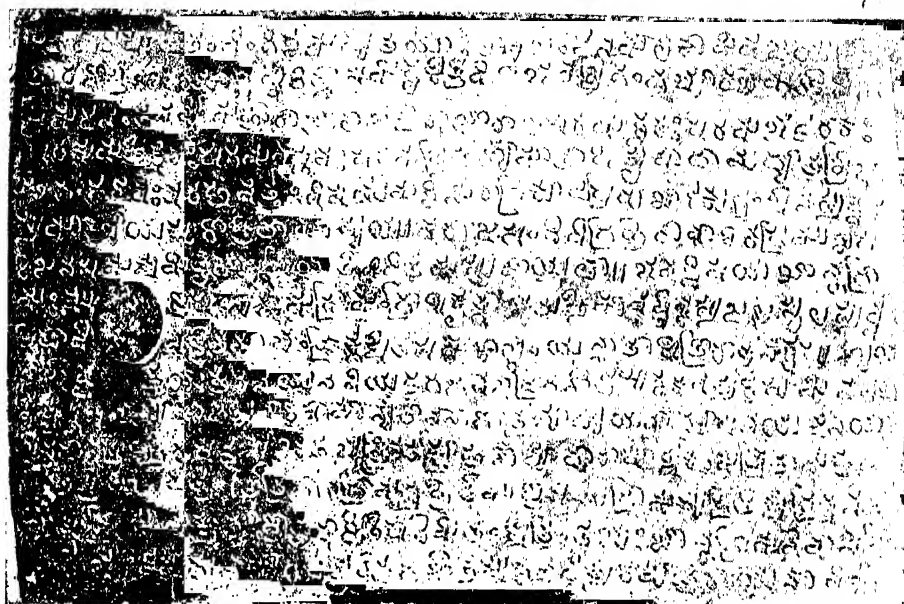
In this grant it is mentioned that Kāmārṇava 1 killed *Sabarāditya* (l. 47) and that *Dantāvuram* was his capital (l. 48) while the grant of 1040, says that Kāmārṇava killed *Bālāditya* and that *Jantāvuram* was his capital. As the facsimile was not published along with his article, it was not possible to verify his reading. But I have looked into the plates; Dr. Fleet's reading is incorrect. I found in it “samara śīrasi śabalādityan-nirjjitya dantāvuran-nāma” but Dr. Fleet read it by mistake as “samarantrasikam bālādityan-nirjjitya jantāvuran-nāma”. It is not possible to say whether “sabarāditya” or “śabalāditya” is the correct name of the person killed by Kāmārṇava 1. In my next article I shall refer to this and some other points of historical interest.

Second 'Set.

[illegible]

Il a.

[illegible]



IV b.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Telugu, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The leaf shows signs of wear, including a circular hole on the left side and some dark, irregular markings.

b.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Telugu, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The leaf shows signs of wear, including a circular hole on the left side and some dark, irregular markings.

[By kind permission of Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Editor, Bharathi]

TEXT 1

First plate, second side.

1. óm¹ lakshmi nishô (vya)m-uḍurâjakalmka kâmti bāhāchatuṣṭaya-
chaṇam vapur-ādadhānah prādu-
2. r-bbabhūva bhuvanatritayam vidhitsur-vvisvaprasútijatharô³
bhagavān-anamtah (a) tan-nābhīnali-
3. nād-babhūva bhuvanaprārambhadtīkshāratô brahmā vēdaparam-
parā⁴ paridadhadvaktrais-chaturbbhis-tatah prā-
4. jāpatyadhurādhiruḍhamahasām-atrir-munīnām prabhur-jjātas-
sarvvajanēna⁵ nitya tapasām vrātô va-
5. pushmān-iva (b) atirēh putrô babhuva tripuraharajātha⁶jūtanēpath-
yaratnam nētravyāpārādēsasmaracharita-
6. mahānātikā sutradhārah dr̥ṣṭāmtô dā(kshinā) tyā mukhamukura
ruchām sarvvārī jivītēsas-trailōkyānam-
7. dakamdô gaganatalamahāmbhō lhisām(kha)ś-sāsākah⁷(c)tatô jagat-
tāpabhishajyita⁸-tvashaś-sūbhagrahō bhū-
8. d-vibudhāgrāṇir-bbudhah purōravas⁹-tattanayô yād-ullasad-bhujō
bhuji-shyārṇnavamēkhalā babhau (d)
9. tasmād-āyus-sūbhāmyus-tribhuvanavinutô janma lēbhē tadyah
putrô bhūj-jaitrabāhur-nnahu
10. shanarapatir-bbhūbhṛtām-agraganyah yah pr̥thvyām-ēkapatnyām-
anubhavavimukhō bhūrijātaprjāyā-
11. m svarvvēśyām khandītēmdrām prānyaparavaśah paurushēṇānva-
bhuṣṭa¹⁰(e) tatô yayātir-vvijitābhiya-
12. tir-jjajñē tatas-thurvvasur¹¹-urvvarēśah sa pūrvvagīrvvānagurōr-
ggarimṇā mātāmahasy-ōrasi hi pravṛddhah (f)
13. aputratvam prāptas-suchiram-atikhinno nṛpavṛshas-sa gamgām-
arādhyān-niyatagatir-a-
14. rādhyā varadām ajēyam gāmgēyam sutam-alabhat-ārabhya cha
tadā kramas-tad vamsyānā-

1. From the original plates.

2. denoted by a symbol.

3. In the Vizag. Copper plate grant of S. 1040 also it is 'jatharô' not 'jarathô' as read by Dr. Fleet.

4. Read "paramparām".

6. Read "jātā".

8. Read "bhishajjitatvisha".

10. Read "bhuṅkta".

5. Read "janina".

7. Read "sasāmkah".

9. Read "purūrava".

11. Read "tatasturvvasu".

(a). Vasantatilikā.

(c). sragdhara.

(e). sragdhara.

(b). sārḍūlavikrīḍita.

(d). vamsastha

(f). upajāti.

15. m bhuvi jayati gamgānvaya iti(g) asyāst-tanayō virōchanavibhur
vvairigrahā-
16. stāchalah ksh ōṇī nāthakir itāpatramakarīlagnāmghrīrēṇūtkarah
lakshmivā

Second plate, first side.

17. gvanitā mahākulanadī samvēdyam-udyōginam samvēdyam sama-
jñanat-sa nṛpatir-ggamga¹nvayōtta-
18. msakan²(a) samvēdyatō manir-ivājani nāma bhāsvān bhūpāla-
maulimakutair-upapālaniyah
19. trāsādīdōsharahitas-sa babhūva putrī yat-sampadān-nidhir-
ajayata³ datta-senah(b) tasyōrvvī
20. śvaramaulimaṇḍanamanēr - āsīd - asādhūranām bibhrānō nṛpati
śriyam priyasutas-saumyōti ra-
21. myākṛtiḥ tasmād-apy-udapādi mōditajagach-chakrōmsudattas-
tataḥ saurāmgō-bhavad-anyarādgajaghatāpāta-
22. kriyāpākalah(c) tasmāch-chitrāgadō⁴ bhūt-kshitalavalayē rāja-
śabdaikava-chyas-sūnus-sārādhvajō⁵yaś-bhavad-a-
23. khilabhuvām-ādhipatyaprasūtiḥ dharmmasī tat-tanūjō⁶ nṛpanaya-
padavī pāmthamukhyō virējē
24. babhrājāpatyam-asya kshitiḥjayaparavān-ēkadhanvā parikshit d 1
sa mahīpatis-suta
25. m-avapa⁷ mānēna jayasēnam-anyanṛpadarppasātanam abhavat-
sutōsya jaya
26. sēnasamjñitah prathayan diśā sitadukūlitam yaśah e jītavīryyam-a-
27. sāv-ajñanat-sa cha bhupālavīsham vīśadhvajam sahasaktim-
alamghya śāsana
28. m vijigīshum suvirōdhibhīṣhaṇam(f) tasya pragalbhas - tanayō
babhuva kshitīśamārggāchāra-
29. nāpragalbhah yah khadgadhārājaladhautavairinārīkapōlasthala-
patrabhamgah(g)
30. āsīd - ēkasitātapatratilakakshōṇibhīd - asyātmaḥ vīrasī vanitā
svayam
31. vṛtapatir-ddēvas-sa kōlāhalam nirmāyōrjītagamgavādivishayē
kōlā-

1. Read "gamga".
3. Read "ajāyata".
5. Read "dhvajōsya".
7. Read "avapa maninam".
(g). sikhiriṇī.
(a) sardūlavikrīditam.
(c) sardūlavikrīditam.
e) manjubhashinī.
(g) upajati.

2. Read "msakam".
4. Read "chitramgado".
6. Probably "dharmmakhyas-tat-tanūjo".

(b) vasantatilaka.
(d) sragdhara.
(f) viyōgini.

- 32 halākhyām¹ puram yaś.chakrê surasadmavikṣhaṇurasapratyuham-
akshām² harê
33 h (a) tat—sutô dhrtasārāsanaḥ ashtir—ggām—arakshad—apavarjjita
śauryyam³

Second plate, second side.

34. śāsa (napra) thitapāsavidhēyam—ēka ēva sa virōchanasamjnāh (b)
gatē tatra narēmdrāṇām kōlāhalapurībhujām
35. (ēkāsi) tyām cha tad—vamsyô virasimhō—bhavan—nṛpah (c)
chōlāmś—chālayataś—chamu chalantah pāṇḍyān bhruvā bhug-
nayā
36. humkarēṇa⁴ cha saptakōmkāṇ upatīn—nyakkāratah kēralān amta-
kōpa⁵ vighurnnamāna—śirasā karṇāṭā⁶ āṭṭēśvarān—asyô—
37. (nmatta?) kṛpāṇavikṣhanadhṛti⁶ kē vā yayur bbbhubhṛtah (d) jītvā
bāhubalēnōrvvīm virasimhas-sa bhupatis-satkriyāsa—
38. mabhihārair—vvijigyē sadma nākinām (e) tasya kāmārṇnavas—
sūnur—dānārṇnava—guṇārṇnavau mārasi—
39. mha iti khyātā vajrahastākhyapamchamah (f) kāmārṇnavah
pitrbhrātūr—asahishnō⁷ kulō—
40. dvahah śaktōpi rājyaharāṇō jahau dēsan—na tu kramam (g)
chaturbhir—anujair—bbhimdan—narē—
41. mdrān—āhavōtsukān damtair—ddaityān—ivēmdrēbhas—sa pra-
yad⁸—vāsavīm diśam (h) a (tha) va—
42. nyēbhada(nau)ghadvigunīkṛtani(rjja)⁹ ram vilikhamtan—nabhaś-
śṛmgair - mahēmdram prarurōha sah (i) tatra cha
43. sakalasurāsurasiddhasādhyaparārddhyakirīṭakōtīnighṛstīmasṇal
acharaṇapī - ṭham - āradhya gō—
44. karṇasvāminam - asya prasādāsāditadhaavalachehhatrachāmara-
sāmajadhvajavṛshabhalāmchchhā¹⁰ napimchchhāmchi—
45. takumtanikaramakarātōraṇahūdukkakāhalaika śamkhādirājyōchi-
tair - upasōbhamānas - sākshān - ma—
46. hēmdra iva mahēmdrāchalasikharād - avattryya yudhishṭhira iva
chaturbbhīranujair - anuga—
47. myamanas¹¹ - samarasīrasi śabarādityan - niyatya¹² kāmārṇnavah
kalimgān - agrahīt tasya
48. cha vijitasakalanṛpatipuram - apahasitasurēmdrapuram damtāvū-
ran - nama na—
49. garī rājadhāny - āstī | asau dānārṇnavam - anujam kamḍikā.¹³
bandhurakamṭham vi—

1. Read "kōlāhalah"

2. Read "akshnam"

3. Read "chauryyam"

4. „ "humkarēna"

5. Read "amtahkōpa"

6. Read "dhṛtim"

7. „ "hishnōh"

8. „ "praya"

9. "rjja" is not very clear

10. „ "lamchhana"

11. „ "mana"

12. Read "nihatya"

13. „ "kamthika"

(a) sardulavikṛditam.

(b) svagata.

(c) slōka.

(d) sardulavikṛdita.

(e-i) slōkaṣ.

Fourth plate, first side.

86. s-tri (kalimganā) thah kō vajrahastād-aparam prthivyām¹ vajram patad-vārayitum samarththah (a) tatsu
87. tō (rājarāja)h kshamām - arakshad - ashtūsamvatsarān | tasya varṇanā ślōkā | sa rājarājah prathama—
88. m jayaśriyah patir-bbabhūva dravilāhavōtsavē virājamānām-atha rājasumdarim-udū—
89. dhavā(n)ś-chō (dī) mahābhujātīnājān (b) tyaktvā vāmgim sapadi parināmōdayē dyām-ivānyām chōdivyā—
90. jē mahati vijayādityam-abdhau mimakshu² āpannānam parama-sīranam rājarājō vichitram la—
91. kshmiḥbhājam suehram-akarōt-pāschimāyām diśayām (c) tasyāstid-agrasūnuh prthulanijabhu—
92. jā vikram - aurjityasāras - satyatyāgaikasīma vimalatarayaśāschandrikadhau - talōkah vāgullamghi —
93. pratāpaś - śubhacharitanidhir - bbhāgyē³saubhagyarasih kshōṇiprānādhināthas - sakalaripuma—
94. nō bhamgadas - chōḍagangah (d) śākābdō namdaramdhragrahaganaganitē kumbha samsthē di—
95. nēśe suklē pakshē tritīyāyuji ravijadinē rēvatībhō nryugmē lagnē gangānvavāyā—
96. mbhujavanadinakṛd - viśvavisvambharāyāschakram samrakshitum sadguṇanidhir - adhipas - chōḍagangō bhi—
97. shiktah (e) bhīmam vāhamahōrmibhir - bbahubṛhannāgēmdracha-krākulam⁴ nānāśa - straphaṇimdrabrmdagaha—
98. nam krōdhasphuradbādabam sēnābdhim dvishatām pramathya mahatādōrmam - darēnāgrahīl - lakshmīm kīrtti—
99. sudhām cha visvavibudhānamdāya sārṅgīva yah (f) vīrasrīr-bbhujadaṇḍīyu - gmakalitā yasyā—
100. ridarppachchidas stambhadvamdvaniyamtritaikakarīṇisādī—syamāślishyatē yat - pādadvitayāmti—
101. kapranayinah kshōṇibhṛtām - maulayatpāyat⁵padmayugānusāri-madhupaśrēnīśriya-
102. m bibhrati l purvvasyām diśi purvvam - utkalapatim rajyē nidhāyādbhutam⁶ pāśchāt - pāschima-

1. Read "parahprthivyām"

2. Read "mimamkshum"

3. Read "bhagya"

4. Probably "nakara" instead of "chakra"

5. Read "ssphaya"

6. Read "nidhya chryutam."

(a)—upajati. (b)—vamsastha. (c)—mandakranta. (d) and (e)—sragdharas.

(f) and (g)—sardulavikriditas.

Fourth plate second side.

103. diktatē vighatīam vēmgisīm-apy-ētayōh lakshmi bhamlanamā-
likām-ivajayaśrī—
104. tōranastambhayōr-bbādhnāti sma samiddhakirttivibhava śrīgam-
gachudāmanih (a) sa—
105. śrīmad-anantavarmanā mahārājō rājāhīrājō rājaparamēśvara-
paramabhāttarakah
106. paramamahēśvarah paramavaishnavah paramabrahmanyō mātā-
pitṛpādānudhyātāśrīhō—
107. ḍagamgadēvah varaha² varttanivishayē vāsinō³ rāṣṭrakuṭa-
pramukhān kuṭumbīnās-sarvān
108. ssamāhūya purōhitamātyayuvārājasamdhivigrahidauvārikapra-
mukhapa—
109. rijanasamaksham - ittham - ājnāpayati viditam - astu vō yathā 1
bhavad - vishayē khōnnagrā—
110. mah munḍipaRunānigrānīm grāsīkrtvā chatussīmāvach
chhinna - sajalasthalas - sarvva—
111. pīḍāvivarjītam - āchandrārkkakshītīsamakālam yan-mātāpitṛr-
ātmanā - cha puṇyaya—
112. sōbhivṛddhayē haranayanaviyadgaganachamdraganītēshu śaka-
vatsarēshu minamā—
113. sakṛṣhnapamchamyām-ādityavārē sāmānyatō nānāgōtrēbhyōdhya-
yanādhyāpana-yajanayā—
114. janadānapratigrahashaṭkarmmaniratēbhyas - trīsatad⁴ - brāhma -
nēbhyō dhārāpūr-vvakam mat-pritāmahēna⁵ va—
115. jrahastadēvēna dattam | tatra gārāgrāmagrhitamunḍipaRugrā-
masya pratikshētratvēna tū—
116. luvugrāmād - āhṛtyāṣṭōttarāśītiparimitam kshētram tēbhyah
khōnnagrāma-nivāsibrā—
117. hmanēbhyah vēlaguṇaviyachchamdraganītēshu sakavatsarēsh-
uttarāyānimī—

Fifth plate, first side.

118. ttē dhārāpūrvvakam - asmābhir - ddattam - iti | asya kshētrasya
pratikshētrēna sārddham śīmālingāni
119. pūrvvatah khōnna ōmbaravēlli tōnemgi grāmānām trikūṭa
tōnēmgigrāma - vakragarttā | āgnē

1. Read "lakshmīm".

2. Read "varaha".

3. Read "vasinō".

4. Read "trisatabrahmana".

5. Read "matpitamahēna"

(a) sardulavikrīdita.

120. yatah vālmika¹sahitamarichavṛkshah | tat - paśchimatah tshad-
vakra²gatvā marichavṛkshapantih ³
121. tatah khōnna tōnēngi khōllira grāmānām trikuṭe vālmikasahita-
maricha vṛkshah | da-
122. kshinasyām diśi bṛhadvalmikah | tat - paśchimatah vanarājī-
kāh | tatō garttām - ullamghya
123. sthāpitaśilā | tatah kramēna sthāpitam silātryam | nairṛtyāmdīsi
sthāpitaśilā
124. tad - uttaratah sthāpitaśilā | tata tīṇīdalasētōr - adhas - timtrintī-
vṛksha samīpē
125. sthāpitaśilā | tatas - tatākapravishṭagarttāmukham | tatō garttā-
tīrē sthāpitaśilā
126. tatō garttaiva | vāyavyadiśāyām garttālvayasamdhaū timtrintī-
vṛksha-
127. samīpē sthāpitaśilā | tatō garttānusārēṇo prāchīm diśam kimchid-
vakram gatvā
128. tām garttām - ullamghyōttaratō gatvā khōnna tuluvu gāra grā-
mānām trikuṭe garttādvā-
129. yamadyasthāpitaśilā | uttarasyām diśi tatākadvayasētusamdhih
| tśānadisā-
130. yām khōnna gāra ōmbaravēlli grāmānām tōnēngigarttātīratrī-
kah | a-
131. syōpari na kēna chid-bādhah karttavayah tathā hi vyāsēna bhaga-
vatoktam | bahubhir - vvasu-
132. dhā dattā rājabhis - sagarādibhir - yyasyayasya yadā bhumis-
tasya tasya tadā

Fifth plate, second side.

133. phalam(a) svadattām paradattām vā yatnād-raksha yudhishṭhira
mahīm-mahīmatām śrēṣṭhādā
134. nāch - chhrēyōnupālanam (b) gām - ēkām⁵ svarnnam⁶ - ēkam vā
bhumēr-apy-ēkam-angulam ha—
135. ran - narakam - āpnōti yāvad - ābhutasamplavam(c) svadattām
paradattām vā yō harēta va—
136. sumdharām shashṭhim varshasahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatō
krimir(d)-iti karttā kāvyasya sā
137. sanādhi¹kārī jātavēdibhaṭṭah | lōkhakō vallōnāchāryyasutō
baṭṭēnāchā—
138. ryyah 1.

1. Read "valmika"

2. Read "vakram"

3. Read "parkti"

4. It is not very clear whether this letter is "i" or "ra."

5. Read "gamekam".

6. Read "svarnna".

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(1-12) The divine Lord *Ananta* (Vishnu) became manifest with the desire of creating the three worlds. From the lotus that grew from his navel there arose *Brahma* reciting the Vedas with his four mouths. From him was born *Atri*, the lord of the sages. He begat *Sasānka* (the Moon). His son was *Budha*, the best of the gods. His son was *Purūravas*. His son was *Ayus*. From him was born *Nahusha* who had many children and leaving the earth in disgust ruled over the kingdom of Indra.

(12-15) From Nahusha was born *Yayāti*. His son was *Turvasu* who grew on the breast through the power of his maternal grandfather (*Sukra*), the preceptor of *Rākshasas* (*purvagrīvāna*). Being without sons and in consequence, much distressed for a long time, *Turvasu* propitiated (the river) *Gangā* and obtained a son, *Gāngéya*. Since then, his descendents have been victorious in the world under the name, *Gāngānvaya*.

(15-29) *Turvasu*'s son was *Virōchana* who received the submission of many kings. His son was *Samvédyā* the best of *Gāngānvaya*. His son was *Bhāsvān*. From him was born *Dattasēna*. His son was *Saumya*. His son was *Amsudatta*. From him was born *Saurānga*. His son was *Chitrāngada* who alone in the whole world deserved the title of king. From him was born *Sāradhvaja*. His son was *Dharma*, the best of those that walked on the path of duty. His son was *Parikshit*. His son was *Jayasena* who destroyed the pride of the rival kings. His son was also known by the name of *Jayasena*. He begot *Jitavīrya*. His son was *Vrshadhvaja* who caused terror to his foes. From him was born *Pragalbha*.

(30-34) *Pragalbha*'s son was *Kōlāhala* who built the city of *Kōlāhala* (*Kolhāpur*) in the *Gāngavādi* vishaya. His son was *Virōchana*.

(34-39) When there had gone by 81 kings who enjoyed the city of *Kōlāhala*, there arose in his lineage, *Virasimha*. Among the kings (of his time) who had the courage (even) to look at the maddened sword of this (*Virasimha*) who terrified the *Chōlā* by the march of his armies, the *Pāndyās* by his brow-beating, the seven *Kōnkana* kings by a menacing roar, the *Kēralā* by a cry of contempt, the kings of *Karnāta* and *Lāta* by a threatening movement of his head. He had five sons, *Kāmārnavā*, *Dānārnavā*, *Guṇārnavā*, *Mārasimha* and *Vajrahasta*.

(39-51) *Kāmārnavā* though he could have recovered his kingdom usurped by his father's brother left the country (to him) but not dharma. He set out with his four brothers and destroying the

foes that attacked him (on the way) marched eastwards. He got up the mountain Mahēndra and worshipped the god Gōkarnasvāmi. With all the insignia of universal sovereignty which he obtained through his (Gokarnasvāmi's) favour shone like Mahēndra. He descended from the summit of the mountain. Mahēndra and accompanied like Yudhishthira by his brothers killed *Sabaraditya* on the battlefield and took possession of the kingdom of Kalinga. The city of *Dantapura* which excelled all the cities of all the kings and (even) the city of Surēndra, was his capital. Having decorated his younger brother, Dānārṇava with the necklace (of royalty—thus nominating him as his successor) he gave Ambavādi vishaya to Guṇārṇava Sôlānḍila to Mārasimha, Kaṇṭakavartani to Vajrahasta and himself ruled the Kalinga kingdom for 36 years.

(51-62) Of Kāmārṇava who adorned the family of the Gangā that obtained the fulfilment of all their desires by propitiating the divine Gōkarnasvāmi, established on the summit of the mountain, Mahēndra and that belonged to Atrēya gōtra,—the younger brother *Danarnava* reigned for 40 years. His son, *Kamarnava* II reigned for 50 years. He had for his capital the city named *Nagara* which excelled the city of Indra. In that city he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the god, Iśa (Śiva) in the form of a linga to which he gave the name of Madhukēsa because it came out of a Madhuka tree.

(62-68) His son *Ranarnava* made the Earth happy for 5 years. His son, *Vajrahasta* II protected the earth for 15 years. His younger brother *Kamarnava* III made the earth prosperous for 19 years. His unique fame spread wide thus:—Kāmārṇava the descendent of Sōma (the Moon) and Rāghava the descendent of Surya (the Sun) had equal prowess in the three—fold use of the bow, displaying surprise, steadiness, and grace but while one of them (Kāmārṇava) struck down with one arrow seven warriors that came with the desire of killing him, the other (Rāghava) struck down seven trees.

(69-80) His son, *Gunarnava* held the earth in subjection for 27 years. His son *Potamkusa* kept the earth without a rival wife in his affection for 15 years. Then his brother's son, *Kalingalankusa* adorned the kingdom of Kalinga for 12 years. Then his father's brother, *Gundana* was the ornament of the earth for 7 years. His younger brother, *Kamarnava* IV enjoyed the earth for 25 years. Their younger brother, *Vinayaditya* protected the earth for 3 years. Then his eldest brother, Kāmārṇava's son, *Vajrahasta* IV reigned for 35 years. He made the Earth wet with the rut of the elephants. He gave to those that asked a thousand elephants of the Kalinga forest and his fame as white as the tusks of those elephants and as odorous as their rut spread to the three worlds. Then his son, *Kamarnava* V reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, *Gundama* II

reigned for 3 years. Then his maternal half-brother, *Madhukama-rnava VI* reigned for 19 years.

(80-91) Then his son, *Vajrahasta* reigned for 33 years. The fame of (Vajrahasta) the best of the Gangas, as pure as the moon-light spread in all directions bringing joy to the world. Who is able to ward off the thunderbolt (of Indra) except Vajrahasta (i. e. he who holds a thunderbolt in his hand), the lord of Tri-Kalinga, on whose breast resides Lakhmi, (the goddess of wealth) and in whose mouth resides Sarasvati (the goddess of Learning). His son, *Rajaraja* reigned for 8 years. He first became the husband of the goddess of Victory in the festival of battle with the Dravilas and next married *Rājasundari* the daughter of the *Chōḍa* king. When *Vijayālitya* grew old like the setting sun, left *Vengi* which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the *Chōlas*, *Rājārāja* the refuge of the distressed caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region itself.

(91-104) His eldest son, *Chōḍaganga* who was (like the sun to the collection of the lotus flowers of the Ganga family and who was endowed with many good qualities was for the purpose of protecting the world, annointed king in the Saka year 999 denoted by the (9) *Nandas*, (9) apertures, (9) planets when the sun was in the *Kumbha* (Aquarius) on Saturday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight under the *Révati* star and during the *Mithuna* (Gemini) lagna. He the ornament of the Gangas first replaced the fallen lord of *Utkala* in the eastern region and then the waning lord of *Vengi* in the western region and restored their fortunes.

(104-108) The prosperous *Mahārāja Anantavarma*, the *Rājādhirāja*, the *Paramabhattāraka*,—etc., he, the glorious *Chōḍaganga-dēva* who meditates on the feet of his parents, having called together the elders of the several taluks residing in the *Varāhavartani* *Vishaya* issues a command in the presence of the priest, minister, heir—apparent—and other officials of the state, thus:—“Be it known to you all—

(109-115) “that my grandfather, *Vajrahasta*, for the advancement of the religious merit and fame of (his) mother, father and himself, granted in the saka year, 1003, denoted by the Moon (1), sky (O), sky (O), *Siva's eyes* (3), in the Solar month of *Mina* (Pisces), on Sunday, the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight, the village of *Khōnna* with the right of using the lands of the village of *MuṇḍapaRu*, situated in *Varāhavartani*, enclosed by the four boundaries, with all the waters (within the enclosed land) to 300 *brāhmanas* of several *gōtras*, devoted to the six religious rites, viz., performing and conduc-

ting sacrifices, studying and teaching the Vêdas and giving and accepting donations.

(115-118) "There a land measuring 88 taken from the village of Tuluvu, as the pratikshêtram of MunḍapaRu taken from Gāra, has been granted by us, in the Saka year. 1034, denoted by the Moon (1) the sky (O) gunas (3), the Vedas (4), at the time of the winter solstice, to the brahmans residing in the village of Khôṇna."

(118-130) The boundaries of this land with the Pratik, shêtram:—To the east, the winding watercourse of the village-Tônengi at the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khôṇna, Ombara, vèlli and Tônengi. To the south-east, a Maricha tree with an ant-hill to the west of which (there is) after turning round a small curve a row of Maricha trees, (there lying) by the side of this a Maricha tree with an ant-hill at the meeting place of the (three) villages Khôṇna, Tônengi, and Khôllira. To the south, a big ant-hill, to the west of which (there are) rows of forests and by the side of this after crossing a watercourse, a boundary stone, fixed, and next, three boundary stones, fixed in order. To the south-west, a boundary stone to the north of which (there is another) boundary stone and after this, a boundary stone near a tamarind tree below the causeway of i(ra?)ṇidala and after this, the mouth of the watercourse joining a tank and by the side of this, a boundary stone fixed on the bank of the watercourse. Then the western boundary follows the watercourse and turning a small bend and crossing the same watercourse and again going northwards, meets a boundary stone, fixed between two watercourses at the meeting place of the (three) villages Khôṇna, Tuluvu, Gāra. To the north, a causeway connecting two tanks. To the north-east, a watercourse of the village, Tônengi and the meeting place of the (three) villages Khôṇna, Gāra and Ombaravèlli.

(130-136) There are four, of the usual imprecatory verses.

(136-138) The author of the text is Sasanādhikāri jata vèdi bhāṭṭa. The engraver is battênāchārya, son of Vallênāchārya.

BHAVABHUTI AND HIS IDENTITY.

By Mimansakacharya, S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRIAR,

(Formerly Lecturer in Mīmāṃsa, Āndhra Gīrvāṇa Vidyālaya
Kovvūr, West Gōdāvari District.)

Translated from the Original Sanskrit

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M. A.

Sometimes we wonder that certain persons are known only by surnames or even curiously by their nicknames. Akbar means great and it is a title to Emperor Mahomed Jalāluddīn the Great. The poet, probably Govindarāja, was termed *Vikāṭānitambā* for the powerful deliniation of the character of a temptress, *Vikāṭānitambā*, the heroine of the farce. Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi, perhaps Kālidāsa and a host of scholars live by their pseudonyms alone. We propose to go into the real name of Bhavabhūti whose scholarship and poetic genius warrant such an inquiry.

In *Mālatīmādhava* some praise is bestowed upon the sastric scholarship of Bhavabhūti in prologue and in addition the poet consoles himself in a memorable verse against probable indifference to his work. What his works were in sastras is the common inquiry of our day. A few decades ago the editor of *Gaudavādha* drew the attention of scholars to certain colophons to *Mālatīmādhava* which speak of one Umbēka, a pupil of Kumārila, as the author of that drama. Later on Mr. M. R. Telang in his introduction to *Mahāvīdyāvidambana* pointed out that Chitsukha refers the author of *Mālatīmādhava* as an *apī* and that the commentator identifies Umbēka as the author cited and he was no other than Bhavabhūti (Vide *Tattvapraśāṅgīkā*, page 265.) The commentary on *Sāstradīpikā* called *Yuktisnehaprapāraṇī* frequently cites Umbēka in criticising Pārthasārathi's opinions on *Chodana* and *utpattikā* sūtras. (vide pp 3, 38, 82, 135 &c) Mādhava Sarasvatī in his *Sarvādarsanakaumudī* expressly states that Umbēka wrote a commentary on *Ślōkavartikā*. The following verse,

उम्बेकः कास्त्रिकां वेत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः

मण्डनस्तूम्यं वेत्ति नोभयं वेत्ति खण्डः

is current among scholars in Malabar though a different reading is given by Haribhadra. This would mean that Umbēka must have written about the *Ślōkavartikā* of Kumārila. *Tantra* means the portion covered in *Tantravartikā*.

Now comes the difficulty. It is said in *Sankaravijaya* of Sri Vidyāranya that Sankara went to Maṇḍana Mīśra who was otherwise called Umbēka and Viśvarupa. He defeated him in disputations and Maṇḍana accepted *Sannyasa-asrama*. If this is true Bhavabhūti being Umbēka, the other two names must refer to him. Maṇḍana became Surēśvara in *sannyasa-asrama*. Maṇḍana seems to be a different person. A number of commentators on Mīmāṃsa and Vedānta works cited Umbēka's opinions as authoritative and final. Recently Dr. Gangānātha Jha has published Umbēka's commentary on *Bhāvanāvivēka* of Maṇḍana.

To add to this, Bhavabhūti is known in his dramas as the bearer of the title Srikāṇṭha. The author of *Saiva bhāṣya* on the Brahma sutras is known as Srikāṇṭha. We know that a sect of Saivites were known by the name of Srikāṇṭhas whose seat lay at the Srisāila in Kurnul district. An examination into this amusing identity of names must surely lead us into the untraversed regions of Mīmāṃsa and Vedānta. There are works available under the authorship of all these names individually. Maṇḍana's three *vivekas* (*Vidhivivēka*, *Bhāvanāvivēka*, *Vibhramavivēka*) and two *Siddhis* (*Sphoṭa* and *brahma siddhis*) are well known with a train of commentaries thereon. His gloss on *Sābara Bhāṣya* is not seen by me. Bhavabhūti's dramas proclaim that name. Suresvara's three grand works still hold their day in elucidating Sankara's terse lines. Viśvarupa is a commentator on the Smṛti of Yāgyavalkya and his voluminous work is now available in print. Umbēka's commentary on *Bhāvanāvivēka* is already published. Srikāṇṭha's bhāṣya is studied by its followers. Thus an examination of these works is really onerous if not quite amusing.

Kumārila wrote five works of which *Brihatlīka* and *Madhya vartika* have perished. They are cited by Pārthasārathi in his works and by Mādhava-sarasvatī in his *Sarvadarsana-kaumudī*. Kṛṣṇadēva also mentions these names. Kāmārila's *Ślōkavartika* which consists of 33000 ślōkas extends over *Tarkapada* of Mīmāṃsa. I have recently obtained a copy of Umbēka's commentary on *Ślōkavartika* extending over 2000 ślōkas and the work was continued by Bhaṭṭaputra Jayamiśra. We are tempted by the mode of commenting, to say that Jayamiśra must have been the son of Kumārila who is known as Bhaṭṭa. If Jayamiśra was the son of Kumārila, Umbēka being the author of the earlier part of the work must be his contemporary. The colophons of *Malatīmadhava* referred to above speak of him as Kumārila's pupil. The work begins with the ślōka in *Malatīmadhava* declared as memorable.

E nāma kecidīha nah prathayantyavagnām
Jānantu te kimapī tām prati naisa yatnah,

Utpatsyaté mama tu kôpi samānadharmah
Kalo hyayam niravadhir = vipula ca prthvi,

He means perhaps that his commentary should struggle against a host of opponents as Prabhākara, Murāri, and *Alwaitins* as Sankara &c. Umbēka left it at *Vanavada* and Jayamiśra continued therefrom perhaps with greater vigour. His exposition is full and invariably points to the opponent against whom the argument was aimed. Why should Umbēka abandon his task in the middle? *Mahāvīracharita* is likewise incomplete. The hand of Death sometimes carried away a number of great men as Bāṇi, Dandin, Kalidāsa, Paṇḍitarāya &c., even with the brush in their hands retouching the fairest of their creations. Was Bhavabhūti a victim of the same hand?

Viśvarūpa's commentary on Yāgyavalkya smṛiti is again annotated by a scholar who as an auspices to the commencement of his work praises Viśvarūpa thus:—

यत्प्रसादायं लोको धर्ममार्गस्थितः सुखी
भवभूतिमुगेशारव्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणय्यतम्

It evidently means that Bhavabhūti was Viśvarūpa and also Sureśvara. A manuscript copy of *Naishkarmya-siddhi* reads in its colophon that the pupil of Govinda-bhagavatpāla, namely, Viśvarūpa wrote the work. The former, we know, was the *guru* of Sankara. This means that the name Viśvarūpa must signify his sannyāsihood. The name Sureśvarā seems to be a title, as some tradition declares. If this is true we have no difficulty in supposing that Umbēka having entered a new life with a promise to comment upon Sankara's works and to complete *his* mission must have necessarily abandoned his *kaṇva* and his labours in *karma-mīmāṃsa*. Some scholars are led to think that Dêvēśvara, the *guru* of Sarvagnātman was Sureśvara. Neither Sarvagnātman nor his several commentators ever meant Sureśvara as a synonym of Dêvēśvara. The archaeological researches in Travancore give a later date to Manukulālitia, the patron of Sarvagnātman than that of Sureśvara.

So far, it is pointed out that records identify Umbēka with Bhavabhūti, Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara. Was Maṇḍina same as Sureśvara? The only work which identifies them is *Sankaravijaya* ascribed to Vidyāranya. Vyāṣagiri whom Vidyāranya professes to follow has no mention of Maṇḍina. Neither Govinda, the author of *Achāryavijaya* and a Kerala by birth does, but he says that Viśvarūpa was defeated by Sankara and he became Sureśvara. A close examination of the works of Maṇḍina and Sureśvara and a host of commentaries thereon reveal that there are doctrinal differences between them. Umbēka is held as Sureśvara and as a commentator.

of Maṇḍana's *Bhavanavivēka*, Maṇḍana cannot be indentified with Sureśvara. The chief arguments adduced against the identity of Maṇḍana with Sureśvara are (1) that in a commentary of *Saṅkshepasārīraka*, Maṇḍana's doctrine was condemned and that of Sureśvara was accepted, (2) that Vidyāsāgara in his commentary on *Panchapadika* called *Tikarātna* contrasts the two schools, one of Maṇḍana-Vāchaspati and another of Vimuktātman who, we know, generally follows Sureśvara, (3) that a commentator on *Naishkarmyasiddhi* of Sureśvara in dealing with *aparokshagñāna* criticises the school of Maṇḍana and Vāchaspati which he considers as dull or worthless, and in support of his argument quotes verse from *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍana, (chapter IV) (4) that Maṇḍana holds the *Guṇa-karma-samucchaya* theory while Sankara and Sureśvara discard *karma* entirely (5) that Maṇḍana upholds the theory of *sphōta* along with the school of Bhartṛhari, while Sureśvara with both the Mimamsa schools cannot accept it, (6) that Vāchaspati, the strong advocate of Maṇḍana's school has not condescended to comment upon the works of Sureśvara, who according to Anandagiri was later than Sureśvara for in *Vartika* 1103 page 7, Vāchaspati was meant as among त्रैयन्तनिष्ठिता and that Vāchaspati, as he differed in *sphōta* theory, wrote his own work, instead of amplifying Maṇḍana's *Sphotasiddhi*. Such arguments as these can be easily multiplied by a close comparison of their theories.

On the otherhand, those who maintain their identity are not altogether helpless. For a greater portion of *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍana was devoted to defeat the theories of Prabhākara and most curiously, the whole of it is reproduced in *Sambandhavartika* by Sureśvara with additional arguments here and there which simply answer the objections of Sālikanātha raised against *Brahmasiddhi*, in his *Rjuvimalā* and *Prakaranapanchikā*. There are certain verses which are common to *Brahmasiddhi* and *Vartika* apart from the same order of the arguments, If Sureśvara were different from Maṇḍana, his adaptation of *Brahmasiddhi* would border on plagiarism and cannot be creditable to a poet and scholar, and pupil of Kumārila. The differences in views of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara may be accounted for by the extraordinary influence of Sankara's doctrines upon Sureśvara which secured his spiritual transformation.

Thus the records are favourable to the identity of Bhavabhuti with Umbēka, Sureśvara, Viśvarupa, but with Maṇḍana we have yet to hesitate to accept.

Srikanṭha's *Bhāṣya* presents certain features which induce one to suppose that Sankara improved upon many a theory of that author. The celebrated *pucchabramhavadā* is an instance of that kind.

Bhavabhuti's title of *Srikantha*¹ is not meaningless. The opinions of Umbēka on the subject of *advaita* are clear even in his *Mimansa* commentary. We propose to enter fully into this phase of question when we deal with Prabhākara in our introduction to *Brhati*. Chit-sukha calls Umbeka as an *Apta* which, as a sastric term must mean a *bhashyakara*.

The dates of these writers fall between 680 and 750 A. D.

¹ It has been held recently that Srikantha or Nilakantha was later than Ramana. Kshemaraja in his commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Pratyabhijñāvimarsika* quotes Srikantha's lines. Srikantha, who is frequently mentioned by Śrīdhara, the author of *Nyayakundali* and *Kaumudī*, quotes from Srikantha-bhashya. Srikantha, once belonged to a separate Śaiva sect whose seat lay at Srisailla. Hence Srikantha-bhashya cannot be later than A. D. 900. (Translator.)

WHO WERE THE SULIKAS.

By. Rev. H. HERAS, S. J., M. A.

In the Haraha inscription of Isānavarman it is said that this king vanquished in battle the Sûlikas ⁽¹⁾ Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M. A., who first published the inscription, made the following remarks about this name: "Sûlika appears to be a new name, and I am not aware of any other epigraphic reference to it. Possibly it is identical with the Saulika of the *Brhatsamhitâ* and the *Mârkandéyapurâna* and is to be located in the south-east along with Kalinga, Vidharba, Chedi, etc." ⁽²⁾ Mr. Nanigôpal Majumdar had previously written about this word of the inscription as follows: "Who the Sûlikas were is also not known. According to Fleet, they are identifiable with the Mûlikas" ⁽³⁾ Indeed, Fleet says that perhaps the correct reading of Maulika and Mûlika is Saulika and Sûlika ⁽⁴⁾. But when his list reaches Saulika and Sûlika he repeats that perhaps their correct reading is Maulika and Mûlika ⁽⁵⁾ This shows that Fleet's opinion was a mere conjecture not well founded. Anyhow he says that they are a people in the north-western division'. These Mûlikas have also been called Mulakas. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury suggests that the Sulikas were perhaps the Chalukyas, Sulikas being only a variant like Chalikya, Solaki and Solanki ⁽⁶⁾ But Mr. Aravamuthan rightly objects that 'we know of no Chalukyan king who could have been worsted by the Maukharis' ⁽⁷⁾ The people I am going to suggest could have been defeated by the Maukharis.

The same Mr. Aravamuthan has in a masterly way disclosed the unknown fact of several Dravidian expeditions into the Aryan kingdoms of the North. One of the kings who led such expeditions was the greatest Chôla king Karikālan. He is said to have invaded North India as far as the Himālays and conquered the kingdom of Magadha ⁽⁸⁾ Prescinding from the date of this invasion, it is certainly true that Karikālan considered the Maukhari king as one of his feudatory princes, though the latter was not willing to obey his

(1) Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 120, v. 13.

(2) H. Sastri, Haraha Inscription of the reign of Isanavarman, Ibid. p. 112.

(3) Majumdar, A Haraha Stone-Inscription, I. A; XLVI, p. 127.

(4) Fleet, The Topographical List of the Brihat-Samhita, I. A, XXII, p. 185 and 186 J. A. S. B (N. S.) XVII, p. 319 note 6.

(5) Ibid., p. 189 and 190.

(6) Raychaudhury

(7) Aravamuthan, The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age, p. 98.

(8) Aravamuthan, o. c., p. 4.

commands ⁽¹⁾ This intercourse between the Cholas and the Maukharis, so long forgotten, seems to give a solution to the doubts which have risen as regards the meaning of the word Sûlikas. Chola, a purely Tamilian name, could not appeal to the Aryan mind of the northerners, and was slowly but naturally converted into Sûlika, a thoroughly Sanskrit name (A pike bearer), which, moreover depicted the invaders with their long pikes ready to enter the battle. This circumstance, and the detail mentioned in the inscription (*viz*, that they had an army of countless galloping horses') seem to agree with the descriptions of battles between the Cholas and their enemies both in the *Mahāvamsa* ⁽²⁾ and in the *Kalingattuparani*. ⁽³⁾ This last poem mentions the soldiers of the Chola Emperor Kulottunga bearing spears or pikes. The Chola inscriptions speak also of the great and well equipped armies of these rulers. In one of them, for instance, the Tirukkalukkunram inscription of Kulottunga I, the campaigns of this prince are described in detail. ⁽⁴⁾ In these inscriptions we find often mentioned the city of Kollipakkai, one of the most important cities of the Chola kingdom, the walls of which are said to be surrounded by *sûlli* ⁽⁵⁾

The change of the name Chola into Sûlika is not philologically improbable. The Parsis are similarly called Paraśikas in Sanskrit inscriptions. Moreover the Cholas are called Cholians in the *Mahāvamsa*; and the च is often changed into श in the inscriptions ⁽⁶⁾.

The identification of the Sûlikas with the Cholas is of the utmost importance as far as history is concerned. The defeat inflicted on the Sûlikas by Išānavarman might probably mark the end of the Tamilian domination over the kingdom of Magadha. We know moreover that Išānavarman is the first Maukhari to whom the title of Mahārājadhirāja is applied ⁽⁷⁾ To free his kingdom from the Chola sway was evidently the first step to attain this overlordship over the North of India.

(1) Ibid., p. 14. Cf. J.A., XIX, p. 331.

(2) Mahāvamsa. (Wijesinha's translation) p. 74-5 82-3. 206, etc.

(3) Kanakasabhai Pillai, Tamil Historical Texts, J. A., XIX, p. 332-6

(4) S. I. I., III, p. 147.

(5) Ibid., II, p. 108, 221, 403, III, p. 432.

(6) S. I. I., III, p. 134, 135, 136, 140, 142, 154, 158, 162, 186, 190, 200, etc.

(7) Asirgadh Seal inscription of Sarvavarman, Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 221.

ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINAGE.

By R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA IYENGAR, M. A.

When we examine the system of Coinage of Ancient India we find that the South Indian System presents a peculiar feature. From the coins that have been discovered as 'Treasure-Trove' we find that the South Indian coins are entirely different from those of the north and gold coins of the smallest denomination appeared to have been issued to a large extent by kings of old. Gold coins of the weight of 5 to 6 grains, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$ grains were issued having some design or other on both sides in some cases and on one side only in others. They are so small that it is very difficult to handle them. Generally coins were used in order to get the necessities of life, to obtain things that we had not or had, for fines levied by kings, for free gifts, for *dakshinas* in religious ceremonies and for various other purposes. If these small coins had been intended for purchasing household articles etc., the then people would have found it very difficult to preserve and handle them. They would have chosen bigger coins in baser metals, such as, silver or copper. When we read the law codes composed by Manu and Yâgnavalkya we learn that the fines imposed by kings were paid by *Karshapanams* which were coins in copper. So these small coins should have been issued for a different purpose. We shall now find what was their object in issuing such small coins.

In all Aryan household, religious ceremonies played a very important part and every ceremony could not be conducted without paying *Dakshinas* to those who had officiated in them. It was also enjoined that such *dakshinas* should be given in gold as silver was considered inauspicious. In all vedic ceremonies *dakshinas* were given by means of gold pellets known by the name of *SVARNA*. When coinage was introduced these *SVARNAS* were replaced by coins. The authority for this was taken from the Vedas. There is a passage in the *Krishna Yajurveda* I Kanda 5th *Prapatika* I *Anuvaka* from which we gather that it is very inauspicious to give away silver as *dakshina*.

The story runs thus. "There was a battle between the *Devās* and the *Asuras*. *Devas* became victorious and deposited with *Agni* (God of Fire) for safety the treasures and precious stones which they got from *Asuras*. They did so in the hope of using them when they were in need. But *Agni* wanted to appropriate the whole lot for himself and so ran away with them. The *Devas* coming to know of this, pursued and caught hold of him and beat him severely. *Agni* wept

when he could not bear the boating of the Devas. The tears that fell from his eyes became silver. As silver was the outcome of tears it was considered inauspicious to give it as *Dakshina* on auspicious occasions. If anyone were to give silver as *dakshina* in any sacrifice his house will be visited by an inauspicious event within a period of one year”.

As Vedas forbid giving away silver it became a matter of necessity to give away gold in all religious ceremonies. Thus religion played a great part in determining the coinage of the country. The kings of old had in their ministers very profound sanskrit scholars. Instances may be cited of Hēmadri and Vidyāranya. The former was the minister of the Yādava kings of Devagiri and the latter was the minister of the Vijayanagara kings. They were all profound scholars and they should have influenced the kings to issue gold coins for the benefit of the people. Kings had minting places and there was a separate establishment for minting coins. In order that gold might be accessible both to the rich and the poor, coins of small denominations of $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ fanams were minted and made available for people to enable them to use them in religious ceremonials.

My father had four gold pellets called Sakkarai panams and used to give them as dakshinas on Sraddha occasions. Before the guests departed they were given the contemplated amounts and these pellets got back. Unfortunately these have been lost now.

The coins that have been discovered are described below:—

1. *GANGA FANAMS*. These were issued by the kings of Kalinganagara.

Obverse. Caparisoned bull standing facing the proper left with a crescent of the moon above.

Reverse. Sam. 14.

W. 5.25; S. 0.3.

do. One-eighth fanams.

Obverse. Same.

Reverse. Same.

W. 0.75; S. 0.2.

2. *MATSYA FANAMS*. These were issued by the chiefs of that name who were ruling the country comprising the district of Vizagapatam (during the XIV and XV centuries.)

Obverse. Two fishes.

Reverse. Sam. 12.

W. 5.5; S. 0.35.

do. (Quarter fanams).

Obverse. Two fishes.

Reverse. Sam. 5.

W. 1.25; S. 0.25.

3. *OLD FANAMS.* Found as Treasure Trove in Trichinopoly and Tinnevely districts.

Obverse. Figure like the letter U with a dot inside and with the sun and moon on either side. Some peculiar design made up of lines and dots. The whole may be taken to represent a crude form of Kali.

Reverse. 12 dots arranged in 3 rows of 4 each and straight lines; one straight line at right angles to the other. The sun and moon on either side,

W. 5.5; S. 0.4.

4. *VIRARAYA FANAMS.* There are 16 varieties of these and they were found as Treasure Trove in the districts of Coimbatore, North Kanara, Kistna, Chingelput, Cuddappah, Tanjore, Godavari, Madura, North Arcot, South Arcot, Malabar, Salem, Nellore, and Coorg.

Obverse. The letter U with some other symbols.

Reverse. 12 dots with some other figure.

W. 5.6; S. 0.3 to 0.4.

5. *GARUDA FANAMS.*

Obverse. A flying Garuda.

Reverse. A figure resembling the Vaishnavite castemark.

W. 5.6; S. 0.3 to 0.4.

6. *NAMAM FANAMS.*

Observe. Vaishnavite castemark.

Reverse. In some cases it is blank; in some a legend not read.

W. 5.25; S. 0.2 to 0.4.

7. *CHOLA FANAMS.* Issued by Kulottunga Chola I.

Obverse. "SUNG" in Tamil script and Regnal year.

Reverse. Tiger, bow, and other indistinct marks.

W. 5.5; S. 0.4.

8. *REDDI FANAMS.*

Obverse. Bull couchant with the sun and the moon above with a few dots.

Reverse. Elephant goad, coiled whip, and the sun and the moon.

W. 5.25; S. 0.25.

- do. (Quarter fanams.)
Obverse. do.
Reverse. do.
W. 2.5; S.
- 9 *SOUTH INDIAN FANAMS.*
Obverse. Devanagari legend "PATA"
"PRADHANA".
Reverse. Blank.
W. 2.25; S. 0.2.
10. do. *Obverse.* Vishnu standing.
Reverse. Man and a lamp.
W. 5.5; S. 0.27.
- do. (Quarter fanams.)
Obverse. Peculiar figure made up of lines.
Reverse. A circle and an angle made up of lines and dots.
W. 1.5; S. 0.2.
11. *ANANTARAMAN FANAMS.* Issued by the kings of Travencore.
Obverse. A floral design.
Reverse. 12 dots representing the signs of the zodiac with some lines.
W. 5.25; S. 0.3.
- ANANTARAMAN HALF FANAMS.*
Obverse. do.
Reverse. do.
W. 2.5; S. 0.22.
12. *DAGGER FANAMS.*
Obverse. Dagger.
Reverse. Heart-shaped device, 12 dots, the sun and the moon.
W. 5 to 5.25; S. 0.25 to 0.4.
13. *SIVAJI FANAMS.* Issued by Sivaji the Great.
Obverse. "CHATRA" } In Devanagiri.
"PATI" }
Reverse. "VI" } In Devanagiri.
"RAJA" }
- W. 5.25; S. 0.2.
14. *RAMARAYAN FANAMS.* Issued by Rama Raja the second son of Sivaji the Great.
Obverse. Rude figure of the king.
Reverse. "RAMA" } In Devanagiri.
"RAU" }
- W. 5.25; S. 0.25 to 0.3.

From all these cases quoted above it is clear that the kings of old did issue gold coins even in the lowest denomination. While the

fanams were weighed 5 grains which would have then have cost 4 annas $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of these would have cost one anna and half an anna respectively.

Even the Moghul Emperors Aurangazeb, Jahander Shah, Farruksiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmed Shah, Alangir II and Shah Alam II struck *varahas* and half *varahas* and half *fanams* in the mints established at Gutti *IMTIYAZGARH*, ¹*TADPATRI*, and *CUDDAPPAH*. These issues are peculiar to South India and were not struck for use in Northern India. These should evidently have been struck to satisfy the needs of the Indian people.

HALF FANAMS. Obverse. Name of the Emperor.

Reverse. The name of the Mint town and year (A.H.)
W. 2.5; S. 0.2.

¹ A paper on this new mint will appear in the numismatic supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

COINS OF KAVALIYADAVALLI TREASURE TROVE CASE

By R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA IYENGAR, M. A.

In September 1921, while some men were grazing their cattle on a hillock near the village of Kavaliyadavalli, Atmakur taluk, Nellore District, they were attracted by the glitter of metal and on close examination discovered some coins on a slab in a potshred. They are sixteen in number, four big and twelve small ones. These have been discovered for the first time and are of some interest and a closer study of them is likely to give valuable information to the history of Numismatics.

By the size, shape and weight and the legend and other marks found on them they group themselves under different heads.

Class I. These consist of three big gold coins, which are nearly of the same diameter only varying from 0.78 to 0.82 of an inch and are of the same weight 55 grains each. The metal is 13 carats fine. They are roundshaped and are of the well-known Padmatanka type. They are somewhat cupshaped and bear various punchmarks on the surface, the most prominent of which is the symbol 'Sri in old Telu-gannada script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter is found in old Telugu script a legend which reads as (Ra)yasa' and a portion of 'ma' in coin No. 1, as 'yasamu' in coin No. 2, and as 'sama' in coin No. 3. Putting these three together, we get a fairly intelligible and complete legend 'Rāyasamu.' At the bottom of the vertical diameter is found a symbol which may be taken to represent a crown. Besides, there are a few indistinct impressions in the interspaces which perhaps were intended to represent lions. The reverse is blank.

The term 'Rāyasamu' ordinarily indicates clerkship¹. Of course the legend cannot be supposed to mean only clerkship. So it should have a more appropriate meaning. We find that during the Vijayanagar period the viceroys enjoyed the title of 'Rāyasam.' After the conquest of Udayagiri by Sri Krishna Dēva Raya, it was made a seat of a provincial Government. Rāyasam Timmarasayya

¹ Rayasamu in Telugu, means ordinarily an order-and it originally meant an office of writer or Secretaryship under a King or Viceroy. Rayasam, also meant the officer who wrote down orders under orders from the King. Rayasam survives to-day in Anomamantry as a surname or a family name, which clearly indicates that the present families are the descendants of Rayasam of old: Rayasamu is also found in canarese language and means the same thing.—Ed.

and Rāyasam Kondamarusayya were viceroys there. Venkatappa was a viceroy during the reign of Achyuta Deva Mahārāya. Rāyasam Tirumalayya was a Governor under Sri Virapratāpa Dēva Rāya in śaka 1496. ¹Rāyasam Ayyappa was a Governor at Koṇḍavidu in śaka 1453. Though all these viceroys enjoyed the title of Rāyasam, Kondamarusayya was the most powerful of them, so powerful that ²he was even addressed as Maharaja. ³He planted the Vijayanagara colours on the Simhadri and Srikurmam hills during Krishna Deva Raya's famous campaign in the north. ⁴He conquered the Reddis who ruled at Chundi and annexed their territory. He was so powerful and enjoyed such great independence that in his own name he made several grants for the salvation of his master. If only the legend 'Rāyasamu' is to be our guide we may be tempted to conclude that these coins were issued by this powerful viceroy. But on paleographical grounds we have to assign these coins to an earlier date.

Again the shape and size are so dissimilar to the extent Vijayanagar type and are more like those issued by the later Chaulukyas of Kalyani and the Telugu Chola chiefs who ruled in parts of the districts of Cuddappah and Nellore. Further these coins bear a mark which is exactly the same as those found on coins of group X of the ⁵Kodur Treasure Trove case which were ascribed to the Western Chalukya king Jagadikamalla. This mark was then thought to represent a temple, but on closer and more careful examination they seem to me to represent a crown. So far as our present knowledge goes there is no western Chalukyan king or any Telugu Chola chief who enjoyed the title of or had the name 'Rayasamu.' So unless and until we get further evidence from inscriptions or records which may be discovered in future we cannot ascribe these coins either to the Chalukya kings or to the Chola chiefs.

⁶Ambadeva of the Kayastha family was a feudatory of the Kākatiyas. He defeated several Telugu chiefs and overthrew Sripati Gaṇapati. Ambadeva usurped the Kākatiya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrāmba and Prītāpa Rudra Deva. After the overthrow of Sripati Gaṇapati, Ambadeva assumed the title of Rāya-sahasramalla. It will be too far-fetched to suppose that our legend 'Rāyasamu' was a contraction of Rāyasahasramalla (rāya, for rāya. Sa for Sahasra, and Mu for Malla) and we know of no instances in which there have been such contractions in the case of legends. Upon

1. Mackenzie Mss. Book XVIII p. 104 & Local records Vol. 57, pp. 255-256.
2. Nellore Inscriptions, page 1264.
3. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, pp. 7 & 8.
4. Nellore Inscriptions, pp. 478 & 479.
5. Madras G. O. No. 1106 (Home Dt. Misc.) dated 11-10-1917.
6. Madras Epigraphy Report for 1912, pages 76 & 77.

paleographical grounds we have to ascribe these coins to about the same period as that during which Ambadeva flourished. In shape size, weight and in the quality of the metal used these are very much the same as the one under Class II which, as will be seen later on, is identified as a Kākatiya coin which was current some fifty or sixty years before the period of Ambadeva Mahārāja. Hence it may be possible to hold that these coins were issued by Ambadeva who had for his model the earlier coins of the western Chalukyas of Kalyani or it may be that these legends were a second time impressed on the Western Chalukyan coins that existed before.

These are some of the possible theories which may be advanced as to the date and origin of these coins. But nothing definite can be said about them until as I said before, fresh and more assuring evidence is obtained.

Class II. There is but one gold coin in this class. It is almost round and has a diameter of 0.81 inch and weighs 56.25 grains. The metal is 13 or 14 carats fine. The symbol 'Sri' is found on either end of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter there is a legend (Ka)ti' and at the bottom 'gaṇi' in old Telugu script. The interspaces are filled by the figures of what may either be a lion or a tiger, with open mouth, raised paw, twisted tail, all these very crudely represented by dots and lines. The other side is blank.

There was a dynasty of Kākatiya kings which was short-lived though very powerful during that short period. It had its rise in the beginning of the 12th century. Gaṇapati was the greatest of the kings of this dynasty. We read from 'Ganapesvaram' inscription that he conquered the entire country of Velanadu which extended from the borders of Guntur district to the modern Nellore. After subjugating the north he turned to the south and ² extended his empire far into the interior of the Tamil country. This is evidenced by the ³ fact that one of his viceroys Sānanta Bhoja at Kānchi granted the village of Kalattur to Ekumbranatha temple at Kānchi for the salvation of his master. ⁴ From Motupalli inscription it appears that he extended his conquests as far as the Eastern coast. Inscriptions of this king are found in the Podili and Darsi taluks of the Nellore district and Ongole taluk of the Guntur district. Inscriptions of Pratapa Rudra Deva, another of Kākatiya kings are found in plenty in the taluks of Atmakur, Kandukur and Nellore, all which abundantly prove that the Kākatiya empire embraced almost the

1. Ephigraphia Indica Vol. III, page 82
2. Madras Epigraphy Report for 1910, page 106.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol. 21, page 197
4. Madras Epigraphy Report 1910, page 107

whole of the modern Nellore district. Therefore the village of Kavalivadavalli in which this coin was discovered was presumably within the Kākattiya kingdom.

It seems to be clear therefore that 'Kati' of our legend is a contraction of Kakati and represents Kākatiya. and Gaṇa. Gaṇapati the most powerful of the Kākattiya kings. The name Kākatiya is derived from Kākati the name of the goddess whom they worshipped. This coin ought to be identified as the coin issued by Gaṇapati of the Kākattiya dynasty and between the years of 1199 and 1360 A. D. as from inscriptions 181, 196, 213, 220, 194 and 196 of 1905 noted in Madras report on Epigraphy, we infer that Gaṇapati reigned during that period.

Sir Walter Elliot in his History of South Indian Coins says that in many of the seals of the grants and some coins of the Kākattiya dynasty he found a bull couchant between two candelabra with an umbrella above and a chowrie on each side. Unfortunately he does not mention the names of the kings whose seals and coins he had examined, Nor are there anywhere any coins of the Kākattiya dynasty answering to this description. In the seals of grants of Gaṇapati we do not find any bull, candelabra or umbrella. Instead, in the seal attached to the grant of Kolavennu by Gaṇapati we find a boar with the sun and moon. In the copper plate grant of the time of Gaṇapati noticed in page 122 of the Annual report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1917, there is a seal which bears the emblems of a boar and a cow. ² Verse 13 in the Ekambranatha inscription states that the Mudra (seal) of Gaṇapati was a boar. The ³ Mudra (seal) of Pratapa Rudra Deva was a boar. On the east face of the pillar on which the ⁴ Anumakonda inscription of Prola, grandfather of Gaṇapati, is engraved we find a jaina figure flanked by a cow and a calf on one side and a dagger and shield on the other. Thus the Mudra of Prola too contains a cow and we nowhere find a bull among the seals of grants or inscriptions of any of these kings. It is not therefore easy to understand how Sir Walter Eliot came to make the statement that the emblem of the Kākattiyas was a bull.

However this may be, in the coin under investigation we find lions in and around the centre. From the foregoing discussion I have come to the conclusion that Gaṇapati's emblem was a boar. We usually find kings using on their coins the same emblems as they use for their seals in their grants and therefore it is a matter for con-

1. Catalogue of copper plate grants in the Madras Museum p. 26.

2. Indian Antiquary Vol. 21, page 200.

3. Prataparudriya by Vidyanaṭha, Kavyaprakarna, verse 10.

4. Epigraphia Indica Vo. IX page 256.

sideration how lions came to be in Gaṇapati's coins. It is very likely that he accepted coins that were current before his time and had his own name punched on them to indicate that he recognised them as legal tender. The formation of punch marks on the coins and the fact that a portion of the legend overlaps a portion of the lion show that the legends 'Kati' and 'Gana' were punched on old coins of kings who had lions for their emblem.

Class III. There are twelve gold coins in this class. They are all round with diameters varying from 0.4 to 0.45 of an inch weighing all alike 5.75 grains each. The metal is 13 carats fine. All these have the legend 'Sung' in old Tamil script on the obverse side. Just below the legend there is also a number in the same old Tamil script which very likely denotes the regnal year in which each was issued. On the reverse there is a bow, a tiger in sitting posture and some other symbols which are indistinct and are incapable of exact identification. In the case of one coin there is a legend 'Kānchi' and some other have 'Né' in old Tamil Script. In some 'ne' is in an inverted form. Therefore these coins have to be subdivided into five different classes as under:—

- (1) Variety No. 1. *Obverse.* 'Sung'

27

Reverse. Tiger, bow, and indistinct marks
'Kānchi'

- (2) Variety No. 2. *Obverse.* 'Sung'

31

Reverse. Tiger, bow and some indistinct
'Ne'

- (3) Variety No. 3. *Obverse.* 'Sung'

31

Reverse. Tiger, bow, some indistinct marks,
'Ne' inverted.

- (4) Variety No. 4. *Obverse.* 'Sung'

31

Reverse. Tiger, bow, some indistinct marks.

- (5) Variety No. 5. *Obverse.* 'Sung'

34

Reverse. Tiger, bow, some indistinct marks
dots.

In the case of coins in which the numeral 31 appears there is also some mark which may be a simple line or portion of the Tamil letter 'r.' In either case it appears to be something distinct from the numeral and was perhaps intended to represent some symbol which is unfortunately indistinct and cannot be identified.

The emblems tiger bow and something else indistinct and the legend 'Sung' appear in all the coins. It is evident therefore that these coins have been issued by some king or kings of a dynasty which had for its emblem among other things the tiger and bow. The legend 'Sung' was very probably intended to denote the particular king who issued them. There can be no doubt that 'Kānchi' denotes the place from where or from whose mint that coins was issued. Kanchi was the popular name of the modern Conjeevaram which for many centuries was the seat of a king or viceroys. Hence the legend 'Ne' must also represent the contraction of the name of another place from which also coins were issued.

From the inscriptions and records we already possess, we know that the tiger was emblem of the Chōla dynasty, the bow the emblem of the Cheras and the fishes the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. In the seal attached to the ¹Tiruvelangādu plates of Rajendra Chōla I we find the combination of all three emblems. During the reign of Rajendra Chola we know that all the three kingdoms Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya were brought under one sway. It is perfectly reasonable therefore to suppose that the Cholas have added the emblems of the Cheras and the Pāṇḍyas, to their own tiger, to proclaim the fact that they had conquered and annexed to their own the territories of the Cheras and the Pōṇḍyans.

Chalukya Rajendra was from 1070 A.D. the ruler of the Eastern Chalukyan Kingdom Vengi which had for its capital Rājahmundry. He was adopted by Rajendra Chola as heir to his throne. Thus Chalukya Rājendra who assumed the title of Kulottunga Chōla Deva I became in 1070 A.D. the virtual ruler of the whole of the Chalukya and Chola empires extending from Vengi in the north to the extreme south. He conquered the kingdoms of Kerala, ²Pāṇḍya, and Kuntala and extended his conquest as far north as Kalinga (modern Ganjam). He had his headquarters at Gangaikondacholapuram (Trichinopoly district) and continued to rule for at least fifty years.

Kāvaliyadavalli whence this find was discovered was once under the sway of Kulōttunga Chola I. During his reign he found that his subjects were groaning under heavy taxation and in order to give them relief abolished all *sungam*. 'Sungam' in Tamil indicates taxes or tolls. His subjects were so very much overjoyed by this measure of relief, that they acclaimed their sovereign as ³Sungam-tavirtta Kulōttunga Chola Deva. From that time forward he was

1 South Indian Inscriptions Vol III, Part III p 413, See plate attached.

2 Nellore Inscription page 826.

3. Inscription No. 377 of 1907. Madras Epigraphy Report.

known by the name of Sungamtavirtta Kulottunga Chola I. The legend 'Sung' must be a contraction of Sungamtavirtta (who has abolished tolls). It can only indicate that these coins were issued by this Sungamtavirtta Kulottunga Chola, otherwise the legend will be absolutely inexplicable.

I have already said that 'Kanchi' represents Conjeevaram, the place from which the coins were issued. 'Nē' must indicate Nellore. From inscriptions found in the district of Nellore we find there are frequent references made to a coin called MĀDAI. Mention is made of ¹Mādai from the interest of which a lamp was maintained in a temple during the 35th year of the reign of Kulottunga I. From another ²inscription we learn that there existed coins called 'Nellore Mādai', for we find that in the 3rd year of Allam Tirukkalātti Gaṇḍa Gōpala Dēva, grants of Nellore māḍu were made to a temple. From the above, it is clear that at one time or other, there was a mint at Nellore. So the legend 'Ne' must represent Nellore. The numerical figures 27, 31, and 34 are evidently the Regnal years of the King Kulottunga who issued them, for, we know that coins of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinganagara bear the impress of the regnal year in which they were issued.

We can therefore safely conclude that the coins in this class were all issued between the years 1070 and 1120 A. D. by Kulottunga Chola I and that they were minted some at Kanchi and others at Nellore.

In weight, they are very much equal to other South Indian fanams that we know of. Only these are a bit larger but thinner. Probably these were also called fanams in those days.

1. Nellore Inscription Page 835.

2. Inscription No. 300 of 1921, Madras Epigraphy Report.

DATE OF TENKANADITYA.

By VEMPARALA SUBRAHMANYAM, M.A., L. T.

Notwithstanding the controversial nature of Nannaya-bhattaraka's claim to be called the first Telugu poet, a correct determination of the age of Tēnkanāditya, the author of *Kumārasambhava* in Telugu naturally leads one to tread that questionable ground. Nannaya is believed to be the first Telugu poet for the following reasons :—

- (i). He alludes to no Telugu poet specifically in his *Mahābhārata*.
- (ii). Tikkana mentions that Nannaya was the author of the first three *parvas* in Mahabharata, but he alludes to no other Telugu poet.
- (iii). All the subsequent Telugu poets speak of Nannaya as the first Telugu poet, and
- (IV). Literary tradition also supports this view.

In all languages *Lakshanagranthas* are as a rule preceded by *Lakshya-granthas* i. e., works of literary art are the forerunners of works of Grammar and language. The fact that Nannaya was the author of *Andhrasabdachintāmani*, the first known Telugu Grammar suggests the pre-existence of Telugu literature. His title *Andhrasabdasāsana* is, however, significant because he has sprung up as a literary dictator, who, out of the myriads of dialectical and other differences existing in his age, has successfully standardised the literary Telugu Dialect.

An examination of the longer inscription of the Amaravati stupa, now in the British Museum, proves that the Telugu alphabet was perfect even by that date. Though the text of that inscription is Sanskrit, the script in which it stands is Telugu with this difference, that those letters were of a square style with the vowel inflections by the left side of the letters as in Sanskrit, while our Modern Telugu characters are circular in style with the vowel inflections mostly at the head of the letter. Although historians differ as to the date of the inscription, all of them agree in holding that it belongs to a period three centuries before Nannaya.

The smaller inscription of the Amaravati stupa, which is now probably in the Calcutta Museum, helps us at least to conjecture the connection of the stupa with the Andhra kings, because of its probable reference to Yagnasrī. The coins discovered in the excavations

of the Amaravati stupa throw also much light upon the history of the above dynasty. The identification of Amaravati or Amareswaram on the Krishna with Dhanakataka or Dharanikōta, the capital of the Andhra also strengthens our view that the stupa was a construction of the third century by Yagnasrī, the last Andhra king of renown who in all probability was a Buddhist. He ruled from 184 to 213 A. D.

The application of the two terms Andhra and Telugu to the same language in modern times helps us to conjecture the absurdity of holding that the historical Andhra Dynasty and the Andhra country between the Godavari and the Krishna which they were inhabiting were totally isolated from the present Telugu language. The use of the two terms '*Mārga*' and '*Dēsi*' in verse 23 of Telugu *Kumāra-sambhavam* by Tenkanaditya are explained as Sanskrit and Vernaculars by some scholars; but these terms are borrowed from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstrā*; the first implies the indication of *bhāva* by *abhinaya* or facial or other gestures; while the second indicates the expression of *bhava* in clear terms. These two expressions when applied to literature signify the ballad literature and works of poetic art respectively. There is therefore no reason to attribute *mārga* to Sanskrit. So the verse means that while Telugu ballad literature including music was in existence before, the Chalukya kings from Satyasraya witnessed the birth of Telugu poetry. For reasons to be indicated elsewhere, Satyasraya is Pulakesa 1, Who ruled at Vātāpīpurā from 550 A. D.

The Pallavas who were ruling before the Chalukyas were of the classical school and revived the Sanscrit language and Brahmanic religion. So during the Pallava predominance Telugu might have been stagnant. The references to the pre-existence of Telugu ballad literature must have been to the age of the Andhras who were ruling before the Pallavas. The fact that the Amaravati inscription is in the Telugu script strengthens this possibility. We may therefore conclude:—

- (i) That Telugu or Andhrām was the language of the Andhras the people of Andhradesa.
- (ii) That during the rule of the Andhra Kings Telugu ballad literature and Telugu script were in use.
- (iii) That both the language and literature were stagnant during the Pallava rule.
- (iv) That during the Chalukyan period the birth of Telugu poetry was witnessed, and
- (v) That Nannaya was the first to mould the modern Telugu literary and linguistic art.

Some telugu Scholars are of opinion that Nannechoda, the author of *Kumarasambhava* belongs to a time subsequent to that of

Nannaya and Tikkana. One of the reasons for this view is that Nannaya composes his *mangalaslōka* in Sanskrit while Nannechoda following Tikkana composed his *mangalaslōka* in Telugu. The conflicting nature of the evidence of the copper plate grants relating to Chodaballi, Father of Nannechoda is another reason for this misconception. Both Nannechoda and Tikkana belong to Nellore. So they might probably have followed the same Pākanāti custom of commencing their *mangalaslōkās* in Telugu while Nannaya being a literary critic might have begun his work with a sloka in the classical Sanskrit language. Later poets might have followed Tikkana from proximity, or on account of their love for the Vernacular. Others have placed Nannechoda between Nannaya and Tikkana.

Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi correctly holds that Nannechoda's time is prior to that of Nannaya, though he errs in the following respects:-

- (i) In trying to bring in a battle between a Chola King and a Chalukya King which has never been alluded to in the original text, and
- (ii) In holding that that the epithet Tēṅkaṇāḍitya is a title of Nannechoda.

The prime cause of these misconceptions is the fact that instead of trying to concentrate their attention on the points alluded to in the main text, and to effect a compromise, our Scholars began to base their views on pure conjecture and created new problems instead of solving the existing ones.

The author of *Kumārasambhavam* enumerates many Sanskrit poets but does not mention even a single Telugu poet, though he states generally in his verse 23 that while Telugu ballad literature (*Desikavita*) was in existence before, the Chalukya Kings from Satyāśraya downwards witnessed the birth of Telugu poesy. Satyāśraya as explained by some of our scholars is a title of Rājārājanarēndra, the Eastern Chalukya King of Rajahmundry. This is certainly in agreement with the view that Rājārājanarēndra, to whom the Telugu Mahabharata was dedicated, was the first patron of Telugu learning. But Satyāśraya was not at all mentioned in the Mahabharata as a title of Rājārājanarēndra, though his other titles were alluded to. The rulers of the Imperial Western Chalukya line namely Pulakesi I. and Pulakesin II. were alone called Satyāśraya Pulakesa Chakravartins. Pulakesin I. ruled at Vatapi from 550 A. D. The phrase '*Satyasrayanī thotti Chalukya nrpul*' when translated means 'the Chalukya rulers beginning with Satyāśraya'. So Satyāśraya must be the first monarch of the dynasty. Rājārājanarēndra was not the first of his line, and there is no indication for the application of

the title to Kubja vishnuvardhana, the first of the Eastern Cholutya line. Even in the alternate reading suggested according to the Tanjore manuscript 'Chalukyarāju modaluga paluvur' the word 'Mothaluga, means 'beginning with'. This can in no way be inconsistent with the view taken above.

In verse 52, the poet describes that he belongs to the solar race of Kshatriyas, and alludes to (i). The sons of Sagara that dug a deep ditch from the earth's centre, (ii). Bhagtratha that brought the waters from the Heaven to the Earth and filled the Seas (iii). Rāmachandra that bridged the sea between Rāmeswara and Simhala, and (iv). Karikala Chola the great Chola ruler of the early years of the Christian era. He states that he equals in prowess either of them, whose power was only limited by the Seas, and styles himself Nannechoda. In verse 53 he states that he is the son of Chodaballi a lord of 21000 in Pakanadu, the present Nellore District and Srisati of the Haihaya dynasty. In verse 54 he states that Uraiyur was his capital and that he was Tēnkaṇāḍitya.

A reference to the geneologies of the Cholas, prepared by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, M. A., in his South Indian History, clearly shows that there were only two rulers by name Aditya. (i). Aditya the founder of the new Chola dynasty in 880 A. D., and (ii). Rajaditya who was defeated and slain on the field by the Rāshtrakūṭa King. Evidently, Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi identifies the atuhor of Kumārasambhava with the latter; this cannot be correct because his father was not Chodaballi but Parāntaka. Moreover his view cannot explain the situation because our authors' capital was Uraiyur while his father was a Pakanati chief. The mention of Karikalichola alone and the absence of any other name in the work indicates that there was no great ruler between Karikalan and our author. Had the founder of the new Chola dynasty, or Rājarāja the great, the Chola ruler who ruled from 985 to 1027 A. D., intervened between Karikalan and our author, there would certainly have been a reference to either of them in our work. A few generations after Karikala, the ancient Chola dynasty became extinct and its place was taken up by the Pallavas, Sivaskanthavarman, the Pallava ruler was predominant in South India from the Krishna to the Kaveri even as early as 150 A. D. When the Pallavas were totally weakened by the external attacks of the Rāshtrakūṭas and by the internal struggles of the local dynasties, our author Aditya, the son of Chodaballi, a Pakanati chief, led his forces against Aparājita Pallava the last of the line, defeated him and overthrew his power. Then he re-established the new Chola dynasty at Uraiyur, the ancient Chola capital. This piece of historical information conclusively shows that Tēnkaṇāḍitya cannot be taken as a title. It is the name of the conqueror. Literary tradition in the

Telugu country, and Andhra *lākshanikas* speak of Tēnkaṇāḍitya's *Kumārasambhava* and not of Nannechoda's *Kumarasambhava*. So Tēnkaṇāḍitya must be taken as a name, in addition to his other name Choda-deva which the author is pleased to quote in the prose pieces or *gadyas* at the close of each canto or *Asvāsa*.

Our author says that Uraiyur was his capital. The capital of the Imperial Chola dynasty under Karikala was Uraiyur. But under the successors of Parāntaka, Tanjore seems to have been the capital. So our author might have ruled before this move to Tanjore. This move was made most probably in the later years of Parantaka's rule and so our author must have been a predecessor of Parantaka.

As there is a reference to Udhbhaṭi, the Sanskrit poet of Kashmir at the court of Jayāpīḍa in the work, *Kumārasambhava* cannot be the composition of a date earlier than 880 A. D., the date of *Udhbhaṭa*. Since Āḍitya, the reviver of the Chola dynasty ruled from 880 to 900 A. D., it must have been composed during that age. Thus *Kumārasambhava* is of a very great historical and linguistic value as it throws much light upon the early history of Telugu language and literature, and as it indicates the direction from which the founder of the new Chola dynasty sprang forth, a point on which our University Professor of Indian History is silent.

SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE AGENCY DIVISION.

By. R. SUBBRAO, M. A., L. T.,

PART II. *Chenchus.*

Huxley in his *Anatomy of vertebrate animals* divides the races of mankind into two divisions.

1. Ulotrichi or Woolly-haired.
2. Leiotrichi or Smooth-haired.

To the second division belong the Austroloid group in which the Dravidians and Pre-Dravidians of South India are included. Their features are described as follows:—dark skinned, black haired, long prognathous skull, well developed brow ridges and dark eyes.

The Gonds, the Khonds, the Yanadies, the Koyas and the Chenchus all belong to the black strata.

It is now a matter of common historical knowledge that the aboriginal period was long prior to the Dravidian age. The jungle tribes still found in the Agency parts are clearly a Pre-Dravidian or aboriginal race.

Of all the wild tribes living in the Godavari Agency, the Chenchus are by far the most forward. They are a primitive tribe, of short stature, and of a high nasal index. The nose is thick and broad. They resemble the Yānādis and may be said to belong to the same stock. They are a black detestable tribe and of idle, drunken, peevish, and blood-thirsty habits. Unlike the Khonds of Ganjam and the Koyas of Godavari Agency, they have few virtues to atone their vices. They have no liking for work and by nature are born lazy, wanting in intelligence. They are notorious for their stupid actions. Being drunken they are always addicted to thieving and to murdering. They are irritable and suspicious. They are a semi-wild, ignorant, plundering hill-tribe.

Their abode.

The Chenchus are mostly found in the Rampa Agency and occasionally one can see them in the plains to which they resort for trading purposes; but their stronghold is in the Nallamalai hills (Kurnool Dt.) where the wild and almost uncivilised and naked Chenchus can be found. The Chenchus are also found in small numbers in the coastal districts. These are semi-civilised people but

the wild Chenchus who live to the west of Ahobilam are averse to being civilised. They live in the woods and the wilds and in the caves and under trees. They live in huts made of rough bamboo wattle-work. They carry like the Kōyas bows and arrows and are quick in getting up and down the hill slopes. It is proverbially told that it is far easier to catch a spotted deer than a wild Chenchu. But the tame Chenchus who are found living in the Godavari Agency paths and even in the plains are free from most of these vices and are accustomed to some honest work.

Their dress, habits and mode of life.

The wild Chenchus are simpletons. They are mostly "Naturals". Living in forests, they shun day light and the company of outsiders. They live in small hamlets or *gûdems* scattered here and there in wild forests of the Nallamalais or the Agency tracts. Their dress is very simple, for, wild Chenchus clothe themselves with leaves or rags and live on sago or bamboo rice. The Chenchus who live in the plains are tame and semicivilised and wear a loin cloth. The Chenchu women in the coastal districts are generally found to be wearing an under and upper wear. The chenchus as a class present a very ugly appearance. Being idle and lazy by nature, they do not like to cultivate land even to the extent to which the Kōyas and other aboriginal tribes of the Agency parts do. They take to plunder when they fail to get sufficient food in the forests. The Wild Chenchus live on roots, honey, wild fruits, game and all eatable forest produce. When these are not found in plenty they levy black-mail on the villages close by and in cases of opposition, they do not hesitate to loot or even kill the people. Very often, they spoil crops by cutting or burning them. Dacoity and murders are too often caused by their wanton cruelty. Wild Chenchus living in the Nallamalai hills are often reported to burn the forests, poison the streams and commit assault and even murder in cases where the forest or police officers would attempt to interfere with their natural freedom. With a view to pacify the wild Chenchus, the Government are said to have granted certain rights to them; for instance, the right to use the forest produce for home consumption is granted. The forest produce comprises of several items:- Timber, bamboos, fiber, grass, roots, fruits, honey, wax and game. They are also allowed to fish and hunt in the forest and to graze their cattle and goats in the forests freely and even to barter minor forest produce but these rights which are granted by Government to pacify their wild nature are generally abused. The Chenchus as already described above are an admittedly ambitious, greedy and fickle-minded people who hate all outside interference with their natural rights. They know not of any outside control and hence look upon the government with suspicion and dislike. They

sell away valuable timber or otherwise commit breaches of discipline and when punished attempt to revolt. Hence, of late, attempts are made by government to civilise the Chenchus. Schools are established for imparting primary education and the Chenchus are employed as *Talayaries* to prevent dacoities. Further, they are employed as forest servants to guard forest produce, but it is admitted that the task of taming the Chenchus is almost an impossible feat. Attempts to teach the Chenchus settle down to cultivate the lands have proved futile. The Chenchu is naturally fond of drink and likes to thief because a single night's theft makes him rich and luxurious for several days. The Chenchus living in the coastal districts are in some cases subject to police vigilance just like the Yánádies. Sometimes, some of the wild clans migrate to the plains and attempt to commit theft.

Village life:—

The Chenchus live in hamlets or *gûdems* which are built within short distances of a mile or two. In a *gûdem*, the huts are built in the shape of a bee-hive. The *gûdems* are built close to a grove and near to some mountain stream. Several clans or families live in a village and often it is the people of the same clan that live together. Both the men and women also work for their food. In the day time they resort to the forest to collect food materials. By the evening they all return and the *gudem* would look very active. Life in a *gudem* is not one of unbroken peace, for, on account of their idleness and drunken habits they take to quarrelling. Some of these quarrels arise suddenly and result in bloodshed and often even in loss of life. Under the influence of arrack prepared out of *ippa* or *mowha* leaf and in evil company they often go out and indulge in drunken boasts and wild talks which result in danger to life. Very often in the night they go out in small parties and commit dacoities and even murders. Another cause of the quarrel is supplied by women. Cases of immorality are general and these lead to brawls which, too, end in bloodshed. The least provocation is enough to cause suspicion which leads to assault. The Chenchu like the Kôya is strong in his bow and arrow and when he shoots he does so very successfully.

Their Marriage Customs:—

The Chenchus like the Kôyas are accustomed to two ways of marriage. The first is by consent, i.e., where the parents agree to the match, the marriage takes place in the bride-groom's house. A circular space of ground is cleaned with cow-dung. The bow and arrow are placed there-in, and the couple march round to the accompaniment of a drum three times. The assembled relatives throw rice on the head of the couple and the marriage is said to be complete. A feast and a dance give the finish. The Bride-groom gives new

clothes to the bride and arrack to the assembled relatives. A marriage ceremony generally costs about 7 or 8 rupees. In some cases, a priest is engaged and an auspicious day fixed, when a raised ground is formed and cleaned with cow-dung; and then the couple would be seated thereon. A *tali* is tied by the bride-groom round the neck of the bride. The relatives sprinkle rice on the heads of the couple and this would complete the marriage. As usual, a feast and a dance follow in the night. In some cases, as where the bride-groom and the bride fall in love with each other, they retire from the *gudem* for one night and return next day when the parents of the bride-groom invite the relatives, give a feast and complete the marriage by throwing rice on the heads of the couple.

The second form, is marriage by force. Sometimes, a girl who may or may not be betrothed to another is carried off and then the offender will have to pay a heavy price for his offence. The elders of the *gudem* meet and settle the amount of fine which is often spent for their common drink and revelry. Some times the fine is paid to the party that has suffered. Where the fine is not paid or where the parties do not come to an amicable settlement, the matter becomes a blood-feud between the two classes. The feuds often end in the murder of the weaker party. Where the feud is settled amicably, as a proof of sincere settlement, a blaze of fire is caused on a tree to denote extinction of the previous bitter feelings. Where the complainant does not agree to the terms, the matter becomes a matter of blood-feud between the two clans.

There is divorce among the Chenchus. If the wife refuses to live with her husband but if the husband desires to have her, he will try to take her by force even by shedding the blood of her parents. In such cases, as far as possible, the woman's parents may ask for divorce on payment of betrothal expenses. Then the matter is referred to a *panchayat* i.e., a body of five elderly Chenchus who should act as arbitrators. The members of the Panchayat receive a small fee for their drink and their decision is generally final. The Panchayatdars assemble the members of the rival parties, listen to all the acrimonious charges and the replies given there to by the accused, and pronounce an oral judgment, which would generally be respected and obeyed.

Widow re-marriage is allowed and generally the younger brother of the deceased has a prior claim to marry the widowed sister-in-law. As usual, the tying of *tali* and wristlet made of leaves, the worshipping of bow and arrow and finally the sprinkling of the rice on the heads of the married couple by the assembled relatives form the essential parts of the marriage ceremony. A feast consisting of raw flesh, nuts, fruits, and arrack is held in the night and is followed by a dance which consists of a series of step dances with claps of hands.

The feast and dance are the necessary final touches for a happy marriage.

Their Religion.

The Chenchus worship a God called *Chenchu-dévgta* to whom honey and fruits are given on all festive occasions and whenever the people of a *gâdem* suffer from a fell disease or famine. The Chenchus also worship God Narasimha Swami of Ahobilam whom they call *obelesu*. They believe till this day that this God is the incarnation of Sri Krishna who is said to have married a Chenchu girl called "Chenchita", and who gave to the Chenchus as dowry or girl-price '*veduru-pidiyam*' or bamboo-forest. For this reason, the Chenchus claim to live by '*veduru-jivanam*, i. e., they depend upon the bamboo for their livelihood, and claim an exclusive right to cut and sell the same. At present, this is the main occupation of the Chenchus of Rampa and Polavaram Agencies. One can see even now dozens of these Chenchu families floating the bamboo down the Godavari, and finally settling on its banks at Rajahmundry, and disposing of it either wholesale or in retail, to the local merchants. The Chenchus also worship Râma and Lakshmaṇa whom they adore on all festive occasions. From this account, it is clear that the Chenchus follow the Vishnu cult. As further proof of this, we get the Chenchus putting their caste mark in a vertical line or lines like the Vaishnavites. The Chenchus, in addition, also worship several forest gods and goddesses like Pôtaraju, Gurappa, Sunkâlamma etc.

Castes among Chenchus.

The Chenchus believe that Krishna himself divided their whole *Chenchu-kulam* into seven classes. These are the wild Chenchus; the *Gaila* Chenchus or casteless Chenchus who are now called *Gailapalu* who follow cultivation as their main profession; the *Dâsari* Chenchus who live by selling wigs made of the hair of peacocks, deer and other forest animals; the *Putta* Chenchus who live by selling honey, wax and other forest produce; the *Ata* Chenchus who live by performing street plays, which are in the nature of pantomimes; the *Veta* Chenchus who live by hunting and fishing; and lastly the *Muturasus* who live by selling seeds, beads etc. There is neither inter-marriage nor inter-dining among these seven classes of Chenchus. A rigid system of caste has sprung up and this may be due to the different professions followed by the several classes of Chenchus.

Birth Customs.

The Chenchu birth customs are closely akin to those of the other forest tribes like the Kôyas¹. The newly born baby is washed

1. See ante page 33 ff.

on alternate days and on the eleventh day the whole clan will assemble to witness the naming ceremony. The child receives the name of an ancestor or a forest God. A feast and dance are the natural accompaniments of such occasions. A few Chenchu names are *Atchigadu*, *Bodigadu*, *Vanamulugadu*, *Nagalutigadu*, *Pōlugadu* etc.

Death Customs:—

The Chenchus believe that all diseases are due to evil spirits. Hence they take special care to propitiate them. Any death that is caused is attributed to the wrath of some God or Devil. The dead are not burnt but are buried. The Chenchus observe pollution for eleven days just like the Hindus and on the eleventh day, they pour some milk and rice on the burial mound. The Chenchus celebrate *Pedda-dinam* by giving a feast to all the assembled relatives.

Language:—

The Chenchus of Vizagapatam and Godavari Agencies speak both Oriya and Telugu languages. But very few of them know how to write. The Chenchus who live in Nallamalai hills speak only Telugu. In recent years the Government opened Elementary schools for the spread of education among these Chenchus. As a result of such efforts, a few Chenchu boys are now able to read and write. But their knowledge is elementary. The forest and the agricultural departments are also trying to teach them how to cultivate land so that by leading a settled life, the Chenchus may become more peaceful.

Conclusion:—

The Chenchus enjoy a popularity which is unknown to the other jungle tribes and this is due to several reasons. Firstly, the Chenchus who live in the Coastal districts follow a peaceful profession. Secondly, they are not notorious like the Yānādīs for any thieving or other wicked propensities. The wild Chenchus of Kurnool are, of course, an exception. Thirdly, the Chenchus are familiar to the people for the reason that they claim a notable connection with Sree Krishna. In memory of this event, till this day, what are called *Chenchu-natakams* are enacted in all parts of Andhra desa. Such street dramas which are enacted to engage the minds of the masses, remind us through Krishna's alleged marrying the *Chenchita* or *Chenchu Lakshmi* of the hoary antiquity and fortunate position of these Chenchus.

(To be continued)

TAPASAVATSARAJA.

By M. RAMAKRISHNAKAVI, M. A.

It was about four decades ago that Dr. E. Hultzsch had the fortune to discover the presence of this rare drama in Sanskrit somewhere in the Punjab, and the manuscript was according to the article of late Bhaṭṭanāthaswāmin in the Indian antiquary was offered to the Bodleian Library but was refused as the work was apparently wanting in beginning and end. Two photograph copies of the work are preserved in the University Library of Bonn, and in the Imperial Library of Prussia. We do not know the fate of the original. In my tour in Malabar and South India for manuscripts I had the fortune to meet an old lady in Malabar, who studied this work in her youth and was able to repeat many of its best verses. Though this made me conduct a more vigorous search for a copy of it in that country, I could not find any trace of the work. Study of great rhetorical works as *Sringaraprakasa* of Bhōja, *Vakrōktiṭīvita* of Kuntalaka, *Kāvyaṇu-sasana* of Hēmachandra, *Dhvanyaloka* with Lōcana and a train of commentaries on the latter, and the commentary on the *Nāṭyasāstra* by Abhinavagupta where this work has been given high place in the dramatic literature, prompted me to secure a copy of this drama at any cost. At the kind suggestion of Dr. S. K. De, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dacca, I applied to Dr. John Noble of Berlin to favour me with a copy of it. The learned Doctor, to whom we should be very grateful, has been kind to send me photographs for the whole work. Had it not been for his noble compliance I and my friends would not have studied a dramatic piece wherein every word and sentence reveal true poetry according to the opinion of Kuntalaka.

The work extends over 32 plates in photograph each representing two pages in the original reduced by half its size. It is in old Kashmirian script and a man of South India cannot easily read it unless he possesses some epigraphical experience. The work wants about ten lines in the beginning and half a sloka in the final *Bharatavākya* or benedictory verse. Two pages in the middle of the fifth act appear to have been stuck together and their separation was [probably found to be dangerous to the adjoining two other pages and hence that portion forms a lacuna. If the original is available for examination some scientific means may be devised to read out the two pages now missing in the photo-copy. Otherwise the work may be said to be complete and the manuscript is remarkably faultless. Its recension closely agrees with the quotations given by Abhinavagupta, Kuntalaka, Hēmachandra and Rāmachandra, but slightly differs from those

quoted by Bhōja in his *Srngaraprakasa*, where, to adduce an instance, the exit of Padmâvati at the end of the third act from the stage occurs earlier in our manuscript than in the quotation of Bhoja. Many of the Prakrit passages have been rendered in Sanskrit, sometimes even in the middle of a prakrit speech. This was due to the lazy scribe who copied only the Sanskrit equivalent noted above each Prakrit word in his original. For he has copied both the forms in several cases and the rules of the dramaturgy strictly require Prakrit there. The quotations of Bhoja contain pure prakrit form in such places.

It is matter for curiosity to find that this drama was not quoted by any of the known writers after 1200 A. D. It was well studied in Northern India and Kashmir for four centuries beginning from 800 A. D. The earliest writers who mentioned the drama, were two contemporaries in the court of Jayâpīḍa of Kashmir, viz., Dāmôdaragupta in his *Kullanimāta* and Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyaloka*. Though the work was apparently neglected by scholars after the 12th century, it is to the credit of the European research that the fine production has been at last recovered.

The author of the drama is *Matraraja* otherwise known as Anangaharsha, son of Narendravardhana. He wrote his work to his learned audience, who obtained scholarship in Vyākaraṇa Mīmāṃsa, Nyāya, languages and kindred arts. He himself studied other's works without envy and was always ready to sacrifice even his life to his friends if necessary. Who is this Matraraja? It is irony of fate regarding every great poet that a mystery enshrouds his history and when any meagre information is available it is generally open to a number of interpretations. We are tempted to advance a dogma that the more unknown a poet is the greater lives he in the man's memory. In the history of the Sanskrit literature in none of the known works *Mātrarāja* occurs as an author of a drama. The author of *Kullanimāta* mentions his another name, Anangaharsh¹ as a patron of actors and actresses who after he reached Heaven had to seek the patronage of temples to display their histrionic talents during divine processions. But the work is quoted by name by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Kuntalaka, Hema and others.

1 पुनरारब्धविश्रान्ते रसस्याङ्गिनोऽनुसन्धिञ्च यथा तापसवत्सराजे (ध्वन्या--

2 शृङ्गारानन्तरं नियमेन करुणो व्याप्रियते । तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे

(अभिनवभारती)

1 वयमापि देवनि केतनमनङ्गहर्षे गते त्रिदिवलोकम्

आश्रितवन्ते गत्या तीर्थस्थानामुरोधेन॥

3 यथातापसवत्सराजे विलास सर्वस्व निधान भूतत्वोदाहरणं करुणः प्रत्यङ्गमभि
नवमङ्गीभि रुद्धासते (वक्रोक्तिजीवितम्)

4 यथा तापसवत्सराजे षष्ठेऽङ्के.... (नाट्यदर्पणः)

There is a poet called Māyurāja familiar to writers on *Alaṅkāra* and anthologies who is according to Dhanika the author of *Udāttaraghava*. यथ छन्दना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदत्तराघवे परित्यक्तः (*Dasarūpaka* III 24.) The word Māyurāja does not readily suggest us any etymological sense and one is even tempted to doubt whether it is a Prakrit word. This belief is strengthened when we meet with the form माउराज the *second* letter being a vowel. Vide *Udayasundari*, page 150 line 21,

सामन्तैश्च वाक्पतिराजमाउराजविशारवदेवप्रभृतिभिः समन्तादलंकृतं कवीनांबुन्दं....

Can माउ which becomes मायु in later Prakrit by vowel changing into a semi-vowel to be a Prakrit form of *matra* itself? In that case Mātrarāja can be read as Māyurāja. To support this derivation the word *maṇḍali* in southern vernaculars is derived from *matra* both meaning controller of an elephant. The term *mahamatra* is commented upon in this sense in the commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kamasūtras*:—महामात्रेति। महमात्रा येषामिति महासामन्ता वा हस्तिशिन्ध्यायां वा तल्लक्षणमनुसर्तव्यम्
There is an alternative suggestion not more plausible for the identity of the two words. In old Kashmirian script *ta tra* and *u* resemble each other so closely that one may be easily read for another. Even in the photo-copy of the present transcript there is not much difference between *ta* and *u*. and *tra* is known only by an addition of a stroke underneath which in an injured manuscript may be read with the next line. The scribe might easily prefer *mātrarāja* for *māyurāja* or *mā-u-*raja** as the last two forms do not readily give him any sense. Even the editors of *Udayasundari* had this difficulty and put a question mark beside the word माउराज to doubt its correct form. But between these two suggestions Māyurāja may be taken as a derivative of Mātrarāja. The author belongs to the family of *sāmantas* or *mahamatras* according to the quotation cited above.

Why should there be all this trouble of identifying Mātrarāja with Māyuraja? Sarvaṇanda in his commentary on *Nāmaliṅganusāsana* explaining the word *kanduti* (कण्डूति) quotes a line from our drama as Māyurajās. (Dr. Ganapati Sāstri read the letter wrongly as *madhura*; for *yu* and *thu* resemble very much in the Grandha script) But our manuscript has clearly Māyurāja. Verses from

Udattaraghava quoted by Bhôja and Râmachandra in his *Natyadarpana* bear strong resemblance in diction to the verses in *Tapasavatsaraja*. Bhôja quotes a verse probably from *Udattaraghava* whose latter half coincides with the latter portion of a verse at the end of the first act in our drama. This shows that even if *Udattaraghava* is not his work there must be another yet not available to us.

सन्ध्याक्रान्तिकषायितेन नभसा प्रत्यक्षसन्नं शनै—

लीलावेश्मनि दीपरश्मिजटिलं नीलं तमो जृम्भते ।

वेङ्कट्वाहु लताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित—

व्यापाराः प्रनियोजयान्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ (Udattarâghava)

प्रारब्धो मणिदीपयष्टिषु समं पातः पतङ्गैरितो

गन्धान्धैराभितोमधुव्रतकुलैरुत्पद्मभिः स्थीयते ।

वेङ्कट्वाहुलताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित—

व्यापाराः प्रतियोजयान्ति विविधावाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ (Tapasavatsaraja)

Under these circumstances on the strength of Sarvânanda alone *Tapasavatsaraja* may be ascribed to Mâyurâj, the author of *Udattaraghava*.

Then follows the question, may we know anything about Mayuraja? Râjasêkhra calls him a *Kalachûri* prince and Sodhala, the author of *Udayasundari*, calls him a *Samanta* king and ranks him with Visâkhadeva and Vakpatirâja.

मायुराजसमो जाते नान्यः कलचुरिः कविः ।

उदन्वतः समुत्तस्युः कति वा तुह्निनांशवः ॥ (Rajasêkhara)

“सामन्तैश्च वावतिजमाउराजविशारदेष्वप्रभृतिभिः (Udayasundarikatha page 150)

From this it may be understood that he was a Kalachuri king ruling probably at Mâhishmati an older capital. Murâri when he describes Mâhishmati has a fling at it in which he uses the *ananga*. Murari belongs to 1100 A. D. and probably he would not have meant the author of *Tapasavatsaraja*, a pious king to be the subject of his description. No inscription so far as I know is forthcoming to fix the date of Mâyurâja or Anangaharsha even if they are two different poets. Syâmilaka in his *Padataditaka* locates his hero in “Sârva-bhauma-narêndra-nagari” in Saurashtradesa. Whether Narendravardhana, the father of our author had anything to do with that city is still doubtful.

When did Mâtraraja or Mayuraja flourish? He is of course older than 800 A. D. The author of *Kuttinimata* throws a hint that Anangaharsha having gone to Heaven that the actress had to take up

Ratnavali lest she would forget her histrionic profession, Does this seriously suggest that Mātrarāja lived earlier than Sri Harsha? Unhappily we differ with the generality of the present day scholars in attributing the three dramas, *Ratnavali* etc., to Harshavardhana and I have joined the minority who consider that the dramas were written by Sri Harshadeva, the King of Ujjain two centuries earlier than Harshavardhana. Sri Harsha was also the commentator on the *Natyasastra* of Bharata, which is called *Vartika* and he is certainly older than Rahulaka, who is known as *Vartikakara* on the same, who is assigned to 400 A. D.

To strengthen the suggestion that *Tapasavatsaraja* might be an older work than *Ratnavali* arguments are not wanting. Before Sri Harsha, the themes of the marriages of Vāsavadatta and Padmāvatī were exhausted by Subandhu, Sūdraka, Bhāsa, and probably Māyurāja and hence Ratnāvalī, who takes the place of Padmāvatī in the original story of Udayana has been newly invented while the marriage of Padmāvatī, the central theme of this work exists even in Brhatkatha. If the Kashmerian version is thought as an improvement upon later dramas in Sanskrit, the Nepalese version also contains it.

महावरोधनस्यापि भार्याबद्धिर्द्वये स्थिता (?)

तस्यवासवदत्तायां पद्मावत्यां च भूपतेः॥

Udayana is the hero of a cycle of dramas and *kavyas* in early centuries of the Christian era both before and after, for Subandhu a contemporary of Bindusāra, introduced in his Vāsavadatta a series of inter-dramas, one in another. Bhāsa used the same theme in his *Svapnavasavadatta*. If the printed edition does not represent the real work of Bhāsa in entirety the story is the same and the author of *Natyadarapana* quotes from it as भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते and Bhoja gives the explanation of the word *Svapnavasavadatta* as

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वयथादृष्ट्वा राजा समुद्रगृहकं गत....वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श । स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामावभाषे....

There is a drama called *Manoranavatsaraja* written by Bhīmaṭa who according to Rājasekhara was the author of five dramas in which *Svapnavasavadatta* is mentioned by Bhoja. We know that Manōrama was the handmaid of Priyadarśika who was set to put on the character of Udayana in the inter drama in it. Viśākhadēva, now assigned to the court of Chandragupta II, wrote three dramas (*Mudrarakshasa*, *Devichandragupta* and *Abhisarikavanchitaka*) and in the last of these Padmāvatī is characterised as murderess of Udayana's son. This terrible characterisation of Padmāvatī was probably borrowed from the Buddhist *Jataka* stories where Mākandika or Anupama, an envious creature dupes Udayana.

There is also a drama called *Padmavati-parinaya* in which, however, the hero is a brahman and hence it has no connection with our *Padmavati*.

Of these dramas where *Padmavati* comes in Subandhu's and Bhāsa's are older and Bhīmā's *Manōramavatsaraja* is later than *Tapasavatsaraja* for in it Rumaṇvan's character is a latter development upon that in the *Tapasavatsaraja*. The Pāṇchāla occupation of Kausāmbi is common to both, but in Bhīmā's work Rumaṇvan is made to be a traitor who took the side of Pāṇchāla and sets fire to Lāvaṇaka, the autumnal residence of Udayana, which in *Tapasavatsaraja* is set fire to by Yaugandharāyaṇa himself as in the original story of *Brhatkatha*. Rumaṇvan says:-

कौशाम्बी मम हस्त एव परयाशक्त्या मया स्वीकृतः

पञ्चालाधिपतिः प्रभुः समनतां न क्षायते कावुना ।

नन्वादीपित एष मोहितपरानीकेन लावाणकः

देवी संप्रति रक्ष्यतामयमहं प्राप्तो रुमण्वान्वयम्॥

The question of priority of Viśakhadeva to Anangaharsha is still therefore at issue.

Regarding the date of mātaraṇja another piece of evidence probably of internal and supporting nature, may be adduced to place him about 600 A. D. The rules of Bharata in using various metres suitable to the prevailing *rasa* and *bhava* and to the five forms of *Dhruvas*, *Pravesikī*, *naishkramikī* etc., are entirely ignored after Kālidāsa. In *Sūdraka*, Kālidāsa, and in some of the dramas attributed to Bhāsa, Bharata's dictum is carried to perfection. But in the later dramas the selection of the metre depended upon the poet's mastery of language irrespective of the propriety of the scene. The depiction of pathos to a high degree in this drama induces us to place its author contemporaneous with Bhavabhūti, "the master of pathos" or even half a century earlier if diction and other dramatic devices in the plot can ever determine the age of the poet.

Another ground though not very sure to place the author in the sixth or early seventh century is the device in the plot that the hero becomes a Buddhist *tapasa*. Buddhist monks were of two types—one of permanent set who could not once more enter into his family and the other of a temporary type where after the purpose was over he becomes a *grihasta* once more. Udayana and his clown became monks of the latter class. *Bhagavadajjuka*, a drama by Mahendravikrama, of 7th Century also has an example of this type in the pupil there.

Our poet has developed such perfect individuality in both styles and thought as any good critic can easily identify his verses quoted in any anthology or in a work on poetics. Verses quoted from a drama

called *Visranta-Sūdraka* leave the stamp of his genius and there also Haragaṇa to show his loyalty to his lord Sūdraka burns his wife Harimati and finds when he failed in his object to save his master, that he burnt his spouse needlessly. Then he repents for his masterly folly and gruesome sin and throws himself into fire like Udayana in our drama. But his master being watchful of him like Yaugandharāyaṇa in our drama saves him and hands over Harimati whom he already saved. It is already said that the verses from *Uḍāttarāghava* reveal the same tendency.

The general theme in this drama can easily be guessed if we know to what class of dramas it belongs. In Sanskrit, dramas are either of entirely amorous sentiments or based upon any political plots or combination of both. *Mudrarākṣha* is purely political, while *Sākuntala*, *Vikramorvasi*, *Malatimadhava*, etc., belong to purely amorous class. This drama though apparently amorous in its theme and the hero being a king, is subject to cruel separation from his wife, the central plot thrown to background reveals the preponderance of political strategem. Most of the dramas in Sanskrit relate the adventures of minister to glorify his sovereign's power or to reconquer the lost territories from the hands of an enemy while the monarch almost blind to his political conditions which he generally leaves in the hands of his ministers, is otherwise engaged in winning the favour of a maid thrown across him by mere accident. Thus both political and amorous adventures respectively of the minister and the sovereign are combined to make up a theme and poetic devices are introduced from the canons of Kautilya and Vātsyāyana for the respective departments. In amorous themes *Vipralambha* or separation before marriage is generally adopted. Poets like Bhavabhūti, Bāṇa and our Anangaharsha possess a rare genius for the elaboration of *Vipralambha-karuna* bordering on *Karuna* itself. This has immortalised their fame. As Bhōja and Abhinavagupta would have it the *manu-sringara* is most powerful in intensifying the amorous pleasure but *karuna-vipralambha* has a masterly effect on the minds of the audience. The hero who kneels before his angry lover is more pitied for his tactless folly with few cheers, and the moment, after it passes off as a piece of social humour. But *karunavipralambha* appeals to the heart of the audience, and makes them feel the cruel power of omnipotence and to condone with the hero. The impression is lasting in our minds. In this drama the theme is so finely developed as to increase pathos steadily till it ends almost in ecstasy.

Tapasavatsaraja belongs to that class of dramas whose theme is a combination of politics and amours. And the latter is of *karuna-vipralambha* type, powerful enough to melt down the heart of a sage.

Ratnavali, *Priyadarsika*, *Malavika*, *Kaumudimahôtsava*, *Svapnavasavadata*, *Pratigna-yaugandharagana* and *Dêvichandragupta*, *Vikranta-sudraka* are all similar in maintaining a politico-amorous theme, where one or the other is predominant. In *Ratnavali*, *Malavika* and *Priyadarsika* love adventure is brought to relief, but in *Sudraka's Vatsaraja-charita*, *Pratignayaugandharayana*, *Devibhandragupta*, love episode is enveloped by deep political necessities.

In *Kaumulimahestara* the hero whose father lost his kingdom and life in a battle, was driven to run for his life and grow up in a disguise. Mantragupta, the minister of his father, by a series of stratagems recovers the lost kingdom from the hands of the Liechavis his conquerors. Hero's advance of love to Kirtimati, the daughter of the king of Saurashtra excite no interest or sympathy.

In *Devichandragupta* the heroine Dhruvadevi when she was in her husband's camp with a small retinue who enjoyed their summer in the cool abodes of the Himalayan frontier, was carried away by an unprincipled foreigner a Saka by birth and was much tormented to accept his hand. A brother of Chandragupta II who was her husband in the disguise of a courtesan formed a dramatic company and approached the licentious Saka. By a series of political stratagems Kumara-chandragupta makes Dhruvadevi escape and take her place in a female garb. When the Saka prince almost became mad of his love to Dhruvadevi and self-sufficiency blinded him to the probable dangers from an offended enemy, he allowed himself to meet in a secret chamber the enemy in the disguise of his favourite object which he sought for. He had his emoluments for his accumulated follies. He is no more pitied than Kichaka repaid by Bhîma. In this the amorous adventure is entirely subsidiary.

In *Tapasavatsaraja*, Udayana's extreme attentions to his amiable Vāsavadattā made him purely confined to the harem where he was engrossed in all incidental pleasures. The King of Pāñchāla invaded his country and when he encamped with his wife and retinue in a distant autumnal abode, his capital fell into the hands of the enemy. Two chief ministers saw the folly and believed that the king would not heed to anything in the world as long as Vāsavadattā was with him. Vāsavadattā, though young, was noble and quite capable of realising and maintaining her position. She was the daughter of Pradyôta of Ujjain, famous for his heroism and able administration. Wise ministers also surrounded him. Vāsavadattā had her lessons of politics from her father and his ministers. Yaugandharāyana and Rumanvan confer together on their helpless condition and all their attempts to recover their kingdom from the hands of the Pāñchala did not promise any success owing to Udayana's reckless neglect of his political affairs. Yaugandharāyana desired to present a united front

to the conqueror to which Pradyōta and his sons joined. Yet their combined effort was too feeble and the assistance of one more sovereign was absolutely necessary. Darśaka, the King of Magadha had a sister of marriageable age. No match suitable to her still came forward. He was a powerful King whose assistance would be substantially adding strength to Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa made bold to obtain the hand of the sister of Darśaka for his master to gain him to his side, for the latter also would be so glad as not to miss the offer. But Vāsavadattā stood in the way. Neither she nor Udayana would accept another being, though she might be as bright as a nymph to share their pleasures. Mahāsenā (Pradyota) who saw the situation yielded to admit a rival to his daughter; for to him, love finds no place when glory is at stake. He addressed an epistle to his daughter which made her realise her situation. Yaugandharāyaṇa to whom she showed a godly reverence prevailed upon her and a plot was devised for her separation from the husband. Their autumnal residence was set fire to during the King's absence on a hunting expedition. He returned half way to see everything reduced to ashes. He is informed that Vāsavadattā along with Yaugandharāyaṇa was burnt. He becomes almost mad and runs after her to perish in the very flames. He accuses the God of Fire of his dire ingratitude for it was his great ancestor, Arjuna, who cured him of his mortal ailments by using the herbs of the Khāṇḍava forest. He loathes to approach the ungrateful fire. On the advice of Rumaṇvan he becomes a Buddhist *tapasa* and goes to various holy places. Meanwhile Darśaka learns the fate of Vāsavadattā which removed the only barrier to his offering of his sister, Padmāvatī, to Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa sends Udayana's picture through a nun to Padmāvatī. Her love deepens into such reverence that she worships him every day herself becoming a nun. Yaugandharāyaṇa brings Vāsavadattā to the hermitage of a nun where Padmāvatī stayed and requested the latter to give shelter to his sister till he brings back her husband who abandoned her. Padmāvatī was much pleased with the amiable nature of Vāsavadattā and treated her very soon as her bosom friend. She reveals her heart to Vāsavadattā who after all admires the young maiden for her nobility of mind. Udayana and his clown both being monks visit several sacred places and reach the banks of Yamunā where the hermitage of the nun was situated. He hears of Padmāvatī's devotion and as if by accident sees her. Padmāvatī receives the Royal guest as becoming of a nun and princess. During his wanderings a *śiṣṭha* prophesied that he would recover his Vāsavadattā when he marries a royal maiden. What a curious ordinance of God is that? Can a dead person whose body was burnt to ashes present himself once more in the same old mortal body? If he marries a girl once more what would Vāsavadattā think of him who said to her that he would not live a moment without her? But

he should get her back at any cost. The hand of Padmāvati was accepted but he was mad after a dead woman; and madness too was incurable. He was of course very kind to her but she was miserable and intent upon suicide. Udayana and his clown were on the spot and saved her. This tormented the poor king more of his unfaithfulness to a devoted princess. Meanwhile his ministers formed an alliance with Darśaka and Mahāsēna and their combined armies encountered Pāṇchāla who was in possession of Kauśāmbī and took him a captive.

But Udayana had still no news of these proceedings. He was mad after Vāsavadattā. He married even Padmāvati, yet the prophecy was not fulfilled. The *siddha* might be wrong and for him it was ingratitude to survive her. He must commit himself to flames. The confluence of the Jamna and the Ganges is the sacred spot where the death of a person brings him in the next birth to the realisation of his intense desires. Udayana resolves to die there. He asks his servants to kindle fire while he bathes in the holy flood. Meanwhile Vāsavadattā impatient of weary paths of Yaugandharāyaṇa in spite of his admonition goes to the same spot to commit the same forlorn crime. The mad man is seen with dishevelled hair sprinkling water. Padmāvati follows him like a shade. Yaugandharāyaṇa sees him at a distance and repents for his folly or policy which torments the king so cruelly. It was a dark night. The King goes round the fire when his jester companion draws his attention to some woman falling into the fire. His chivalry quickened and he ran to save her who was none but Vāsavadatta. Yaugandharāyaṇa presented himself to the King when Rumaṇvan brought the tidings of their conquest of Pāṇchāla. All meet together and every thing ends well.

The plot is similar to that in *Swapnavāsavadatta* but in depth of pathos Māyurāja excels Bhāsa. In their attempts Rumaṇvan and Yaugandharāyaṇa faltered twice at the pitiable condition of the king and were about to put an end to the torments of the King. But a moment's thought taught them to pursue their grave and piteous course. In this plot Udayana and Padmāvati alone were kept away from the truth and they were mere puppets in the secret guidance of the King's wise ministers who like Fates in the Grecian Mythology did whatever they pleased. All the other characters knowing the truth pretend to sympathise the King—a position really difficult to maintain on a stage. Our sympathies are with Vāsavadattā, for her magnanimity rises to the occasion even at great mental torture. She trusted in the wisest counsel of the great minister but as a woman was afraid of the mental tension of her husband.

Unlike in Bhāsa's drama every character here exhibits some deep individual trait though under the guidance of a superior will.

The plot extends over six acts and pathos has an even developement throughout. The language is polished unlike in *Vatsarâjacharita* of Sûdraka and fine strokes of original thought sufficiently compensate his ruggedness of style.

To illustrate his poetic genius a few verses are given below from the drama:-

फुल्लेन्दीवरकाननानि नयने पाणी सरोजाकरा

स्तन्वीयं जघनस्थलोरुपुलिना रोमावलीनिम्नगाः ।

प्रत्यङ्गेषु नवेव संप्रति शरल्लम्भीरियं दृश्यते

तच्छिह्नैरधुनाप्रसाधनविधौ बद्धो वृथैवादरः ॥

उत्सर्पद्धमलेरवातिविषि तमसि मनाविवस्फुलिङ्गायमानै—

रुद्धेदैस्तारकाणां वियति परिगते पश्चिमाशामुपेतैः ।

स्वेदेनेवानतासु स्वलदलिरशना स्वठिजनीप्रियसीषु

प्रायः सन्ध्यातपान्नौ विशति दिनपतौ दह्यते वासरश्रीः ।

संक्रान्ताङ्गुलिपर्वसूचितकरस्वापाकपोलस्थली

नेत्रे निर्जनमुक्तवाष्पकलुषे निश्वास तान्तो ऽधरः ।

बन्धसस्तविसंस्थलालकलतानिर्वेदशून्यं मनः

कष्टं दुर्णयवेदिभिः कुसचिवैर्वत्सा दृढं ग्वेदयते ॥

किञ्चित्कुञ्चितचञ्चुम्बनसुखी स्फारीभवलोचना

स्वप्नामोचितचारुचाटुकरणैश्चितोऽप्ययन्ती मुहुः ।

कूजन्ती विततैकपक्षतिपुटेनालिङ्गयलीलालसं

धन्यं कान्तमुपान्तवर्तिनमियं पारावतं (चुम्बते) ॥

संकुद्धस्य ललाटलोचनभुवा सप्तार्चिषा धूर्जटे—

निर्दग्धे मकरध्वजे रतिरसौ किं स्याद्भूतव्रता ।

संवासाद्वनदेवतामुनिवधूवेषप्रपञ्चे गतः

कुत्वेत्थं रमतेऽतविग्रहवती किंवापतःश्री रियम् ॥

आदौमानपरिग्रहेण गुरुणा दूरं समारोपितां
 पश्चात्तापभरेण तानवक्त्रता नीतां परा लाघवम् ।
 उत्सङ्गान्तरवार्तिनीमनुग्रामास्तं पिण्डसाङ्गीमिमां
 सर्वाङ्गप्रणयां प्रियामिव तरुश्रद्धायां समालम्बते ॥
 देवीस्वीकृतमानसस्य निभृतं स्वप्नायमानस्यमे
 तद्गोत्रग्रहणादियं सुवदना यायात्कथं न व्यथाम् ।
 इत्थं यन्त्रणया कथं कथमपि क्षीणा निशा जाग्रतो
 दाक्षिण्योपहतेन सा प्रियनमा स्वप्नेऽपि नासादिता ॥
 दिशि प्राच्यां भूत्वा प्रथममयमात्मार्पणपरो
 विनातस्यास्तापं परुषतरमासाद्य सुचिरम् ।
 प्रतीचीमारक्ता द्रुतमनुसरन्संप्रति सखे
 विवस्वान्मे सर्वं वद यदि विडम्बं न कुरुते ॥
 वहसि सहसा दृष्ट्वा दृष्टिं वृताशूलवाकुलां
 विधृतविषमोद्भिन्नैः श्वासैर्विकम्पिपयोधरा
 वदसि न चिरं ध्यानक्षामा मयि स्थिरकौतुके
 पुनरपि गता किं त्वं मुदेव वधूव्रतम् ॥
 धूमौघान्निर्गताभिः कवलितककुभः कालवञ्क्तातिभाभिः
 ज्वालाजिह्वालताभिर्दिवमखिलजगदग्रासलोलं लिहानः ।
 हाहाकारैर्जनानामनुसृतविषमोद्गारगम्भीरनादः
 कल्पान्तभ्रान्तचामीकरशिखरनि भो यातिनिस्तारमग्निः ॥

NOTES.

We regret that, owing to the changes in the editorial staff during the quarter the issue of this part of the journal has been unduly delayed.

By the death of Dr. E. Hultzsch passes away one of the most prominent figures in the field of South Indian Epigraphy. He rendered strenuous continuous service for over forty years in the department of Archaeology, Madras and is mainly responsible for the discovery and publication of the most important inscriptions published by it. Besides being a mere epigraphist he is an oriental scholar of vast learning and insight and he continued his study and investigation even after his retirement. The results of his work in the various fields is too well known to need repetition and we place on record our sincere sorrow for his death and our heartfelt gratitude for his services.

We are glad to note that Mr. Hirananda Sastry and his assistant of the Archaeological department have unearthed a number of Brahmi inscriptions resembling those of Amaravathi at Nagarjunakonda and Ramireddipalem in the Guntur District Madras Presidency. It is said that they throw light on the Ikshvaku dynasty of which very little is known till now. It is well known that the second and third centuries of the Christian era are the darkest period in History especially Indian, and we welcome any light about the obscure period. We eagerly await the publication of the inscriptions found.

Mr. Bhavaraju, V. Krishnarao a member of our society points out the existence of the remains of a Chaitya and a Vihara in Yerrampalem a village twenty miles north of Rajahmundry and two miles from the trunk road. The remains are on a hill not far from the village and consist of five stupas in more or less ruined condition and four caves near them two of them covering Dagobas and one of them unfinished. From the name Pandavula Metta given to it by the villagers and from general appearance they appear to be very old Buddhist Stupas. Finds of old coins also are reported from time to time. The villagers report the existence of bigger caves in the neighbourhood. It is expected that a regular excavation may bring to light important material for the construction of a connected history and the attention of the archaeological department is drawn to it,

REVIEWS.

*Administration report of the Madras Government Museum
And Connemara Library for 1925-1926.*

F. H. GRAVELY, D. Sc.

The report tells us that the scientific staff of the Museum devoted much time to investigation and collected large and useful finds. Mr. R. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar M. A., who is a specialist in numismatics has, we are glad to note, begun to catalogue the coins in which some gold coins of the sub-ordinates of the Kakatiyas have been discovered.

During the year, three copper images and one stone image have been acquired. Two inscriptions from Dharanikota have been obtained. Also two sets of copperplate records of the Salankayana kings, Vijayaskanda-Varma and Nandivarman respectively and two sets of copperplate records, bearing along with the usual Chalukyan emblems, the legend "Sree Tribhuvanankusa" of the Eastern Chalukyan king Sarvalokasraya Sree Vishnuvardhana Maharaja Vijayaditya VII have been purchased. In the two latter grants, the Eastern Chalukyan king gives away the villages of Mavenderu and Krumduru, free from all taxes, to two different Vedic Scholars who however belong to the same gotra-Parasara for the merit, prosperity and the health of the king. The Genealogy of the Eastern Chalukyan kings down to the donor is given in both the grants. Vijayaditya is said to have succeeded to the Eastern Chalukyan throne on the death of his elder step-brother, Rajaraja Narendra. These grants are important inasmuch as it is said therein that Vijayaditya allowed his son Saktivarman to rule, but that after the premature death of that son after one year's rule, he again took the reins of government into his own hands out of regard for Dharma. Both the grants were made in the twelfth regnal year of Vijayaditya which corresponds to 1075. A. D. The language of both the inscriptions is Sanskrit and the alphabet used is old Telugu. One more copperplate of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnu vardhana Maharaja III dated about 710 A. D. was also purchased. Besides in the form of donations, several useful finds and coins were collected.

It is a very useful and interesting report and our thanks are due to the superintendent for favouring us with a copy of the report and a catalogue of the copperplate grants of the museum and a book of coins of Hyder Ali and Tippu.

R. S. R.

HYDERABAD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES Nos. 1-7

Published by H. E. H. the Nizams government under
the direction of G. YAZDANI, Esq, M. A.,
Supt. of Archaeology, Hyderabad.

No. 1. New Asokan Edict of Maski

Edited by RAO SAHEB H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

Maski is a village in Raichur District. In this village in 1915 Mr. C. Beadon discovered some old writing on a big boulder of stone at the mouth of a cavern on the slope of a hill and made an eye copy of the same and sent them to Mr. Sastri who went at once to the place to examine it *in situ* and to interpret the writings.

It is an important inscription as it mentions the name of Asoka as its author. The contents are the same as those of Rupnath and the other early edicts and hence it is one of the earliest edicts of Asoka and belongs to the thirteenth year after the coronation. It tells us that Asoka was a lay disciple at first for two years and a half and then joined the Buddhist Sangha. Having found the old gods of Jambudvipa untrue, he laid down that both the small and great men could achieve the result by applying themselves to Dharma.

No. 2. Daulatabad plates of Jagadekamalla 1017. A. D.

Edited by D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A.,

A N D

K. N. DIKSHIT, M. A.,

It is a set of three plates with a seal which contains the Varaha Lanchana and other Chalukyan royal emblems. The language is Sanskrit and the script is old Nagari and a little of Canarese. The record gives the origin and growth of the Chalukyan power and the Geneology of the dynasty down to the donor Jayasimha II (Jagadekamalla) who by this grant gives to a brahmin, a great Vedic scholar, on the occasion of an eclipse the village of Nakavegumalu in 1017. A. D.

No. 3. Palampet and Uparpalli temple inscriptions

Edited by Dr. L. BARNETT, M. A., Litt. D.,

The language of the Palampet inscriptions is sanskrit and the script is Telugu. The subject matter of the record is the pious deeds of Recherla Rudra, a general in the service of King Ganapati of

the Kakatiya Dynasty. His lineage (Brahma, Kataya I, Kama, Kataya II, and Rudra) is given and his exploits are described. He performed the consecration ceremony of God Rudreswara in Orugallu and endowed it with the village Nekkonda. He built a new city in which he constructed a temple to Rudreswara and endowed it with the villages of Uparpalli and Borlapadu. He also endowed other temples with rich gifts. The date of the grant is 1213. A. D.

Both the language and the script of Uparpalli inscription are Telugu. The date of the inscription is given as 1236 A. D. The origin of Recherla Rudra is given. The grant is made by Kataya in the reign of the Kakatiya king, Ganapati Deva, of several estates to the God of the temple.

No. 4. The Pakhal pillar inscription of the reign of Kakatiya Ganapati Deva

Edited by Dr. L. D. BARNET M. A.,

The language is sanskrit and the script Telugu.

The record gives the genealogy of the Kakatiya kings which is traced to Ikshvaku and states that to the same line belongs Kalikala Chola. The donor Ganapati is said to have received homage from the kings of Kasi, Kalinga, Saka, Malava, Kerala, Tummana Hunas, Kurus, Pagan, Magadha, Nepal and Cholas. This looks like an exaggerated account of his conquests. The grant is said to belong to 1245 A. D.

No. 5. Munirabad stone inscription of Vikramaditya VI

Edited by RAO SAHEB H. KRISHNA SASTRI

The record is in old Kanarese language and script

It states that in the thirteenth year of king Vikrama VI and on the occasion of Sankranti-Vyatipata, the brahmin Somanatha and his wife constructed the Siva temple of Someswara at Puligepulge or Vyaghra-grama (modern Munirabad) and conferred on it some lands. The temple was situated on the river Tungabhadra near Gautamasrama on the Citra-sala of Sri-kuta hill. The date of the record is 1088 A. D.

No. 6. The Kotagiri plates of Queen Rudramba

Edited by S. HANUMANTHA RAO

Revised by H. Krishna Sastri

The language is sanskrit and the script is Devanagari

The plates refer to the reign of Rudramamba who is mentioned as the daughter of king Ganapati and not his wife. A new

line of feudal princes belonging to the Viriyala family is also mentioned and one of them Sura gave the village of Vijjalapuri as a gift to several brahmins. The date of the record is 1273 A. D.

No. 7. Bodhan inscription of the reign of Someswara I

Edited by RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHARYA M. A.

The inscription is in old Kanarese language and script.

The record refers to the reign of Someswara I and states that the Indra Narayana temple built at Bhodhan by the Rashtrakuta Emperor Indra fell into ruins and so Jogapayya, a servant of Ahavamalla renovated it in 1056 A. D. and endowed it with villages.

We have great pleasure in congratulating G. Yazdani Esq, M. A., Superintendent of Archaeology Nizam's Govt., on the excellent way in which he has arranged to publish a series of valuable inscriptions, both copper-plate and stone, which throw a flood of new light on the history of some of the dynasties that once ruled over Andhra Desa.

R. S. R.

IMPORTANT ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS

1. *The journal of Oriental Research, Madras.* (Vol. I. Part I.)
Problems of identity in the cultural history of Ancient India.
By Prof. S. Kuppaswami sastri.
The Vyaghras and their identification A. V. Venkarama Iyer.
2. *The Vedic Magazine Lahore* (Vol XXV No. II)
Evolution and the Vedas. S. P. Vedalankar.
3. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore*
(Vol XVII Nos. I, II)
Historical carvings at Vijayanagara Rev. H. Heras S. J., M. A.
The cult of Agastya and the origin of the Indian Colonial art.
O. C. Ganguly.
4. *The Mahabodhi Journal, Calcutta*
Is the Doctrine of the Buddha, Science? Dr. Georg Grimm.
5. *Indian Antiquary, Bombay.* (Vol LVI.)
Yasodhavalā Paramara and his inscription. R. R. Halder.
6. *The Eastern Buddhist.* (Vol IV. No. I.)
A discussion of the origin of Mahayana Buddhism R. C.
Armstrong.
7. *Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute Bombay.* (No. 8.)
Some new facts and theories relating to Parsi history.
8. *Journal of Indian History, Madras.* (Vol. IV. Parts I, II, III.)
The Diplomatic theories of ancient India and Arthasastra
Dr. K. Nag and Mr. V. R. V. Dikshitar.
The great civil war of Vizianagaram Rev. H. Heras,
S. J., M. A.
Forgotten episodes in the history of Mediaeval India Dr. S. K.
Iyengar.
9. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.* (Vol. VII, VIII.)
Date of Kautilya, D. R. Bhandarkar.
The Geography of Vatsyayana H. C. Chakladar.
Hindu theories of punishment J. N. C. Ganguly.
Magadha and Rajgriha in Pali literature, Dr. Bimala Charan
Law.
Parasika dominion in ancient India, D. R. Bhandarkar.
10. *Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.* (Vol. II no 1.)
The serpent sacrifice mentioned in Mahabharatha. M. Win-
ternitz.
11. *Journal of Indologie and Iranistik Leipzig.* (Vol. IV parts I & II)
An enquiry into the age of the Upanishads. Eric Fraau-
wallner.
Early history of sanskrit philology. Th. Zachariae.

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO PAID THEIR SUBSCRIPTIONS DURING THE QUARTER

Messrs.	Rs.	Messrs.	Rs.
1. Dharani Ramachandra-		35. N. Jagannadha Rao	3- 2-0
Rao	3- 0-0	36. K. Iswara Dutt	3- 2-0
2. S. Perisastry.	3- 0-0	37. P. S. Rao,	3- 2-0
3. Kalabarigi Narasimha		38. Nalam Krishna Rao,	4- 0-0
Rao	4- 0-0	39. Nagulapati Venkata	
4. Bhagavantam gupta	3- 0-0	Subbarao,	3- 0-0
5. Dewan Bahadur C. Ven-		40. Manda Narasimulu	3- 2-0
catachelam Pantulu,	4- 0-0	41. Bhamidipati Satya-	
6. Jayanti Ganganna	2- 0-0	narayana	4- 0-0
7. S. Hanumanta Rao,	3- 0-0	42. K. Ramakoteswara Rao	3- 2-0
8. N. Rangachary	3- 0-0	43. Ivaturi Kanakachelum	4- 0-0
9. Somasundara desikar	3- 0-0	44. Iyyenki Venkata	
10. S. Roy	3- 0-0	Ramanayya	3- 0-0
11. Ivaturi Virabasavaraju	3- 2-0	45. K. Rajaratnam	4- 0-0
12. K. Sitaramayya	4- 2-0	46. S. Subramanyam	3- 0-0
13. G. Jagannadha swamy	4- 2-0	47. N. K. Venkatesam	2- 0-0
14. K. Kesava Ramamurty	3- 2-0	48. S. Nagabhusanam	1- 0-0
15. P. Linganna	3- 2-0	49. G. Gangaraju	3- 0-0
16. G. V. Raghava Rao,	3- 2-0	50. S. S. Setlur	3- 2-0
17. K. Rangachary	4- 2-0	51. N. Rangaswamy	3- 2-0
18. Rao Saheb G. V. Rama-		52. Y. V. Ranganayakamma	4- 0-0
murti Pantulu	3- 0-0	53. G. Lakshmanareddi	3-0 -0
19. G. V. Sitapati	3- 0-0	54. C. Chandrasekhara-	
20. P. H. Ananta Rama-		Reddi	3- 0-0
Iyer	3- 0-0	55. B. Sivaramayya	3- 0-0
21. Rev. H. Heras	3- 0-0	56. Mallampalli Soma-	
22. Vavilla Venkate-		sekhara Sarma	4- 0-0
swarlu	3- 0-0	57. Jayanti Satyanarayana	2- 0-0
23. S. Narasimha Iyengar	4- 0-0	58. T. Ramakrishnarao	3- 2-0
24. C. Krishna Rao	4- 2-0	59. T. Bhujanga Rao,	3- 0-0
25. P. Raghavendra Rao	3- 2-0	60. G. G. Somayajulu	3- 0-0
26. T. Sivasankara sastry	3- 2-0	61. R. Venkatasivudu	3- 0-0
27. S. Subrahmanya sastry	3- 2-0	62. N. Rangareddi	3- 2-0
28. Adivi Bapiraju	3- 2-0	63. K. Sitaramarao	4- 0-0
29. Duruseti Appa Rao	3- 0-0	64. Challa Surya Prakasa	
30. Pappu Somasundaram	3- 0-0	Rao,	3- 0-0
31. P. Satyanarayana Rao	3- 0-0	65. M. Satyanarayana	2- 0-0
32. A. Venkatachelam	3- 0-0	66. P. Kurmarao	3- 0-0
33. M. Krishnamachary	4- 2-0		
34. A. V. Sankhyana-			
Sarma	3- 2-0		

DONATIONS.

1. N. Kameswara Rao, (Treasurer)	25- 0-0
2. Voruganti Subbarao	25- 0-0
	<hr/>
	50- 0-0

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO JOURNAL WHO PAID THEIR SUBSCRIPTIONS DURING THE QUARTER.

1. Secretariat Library, Fort St. George	6- 0-0
2. Principal, Maryo College, Ajmer	6- 0-0
3. Director of Information, Secretariat, Bombay	6- 0-0
4. Director General of Archaeology, Simla	6- 0-0
5. Principal, P. R. College, Cocanada	6- 2-0
6. Registrar, Andhra University	6- 0-0
7. Principal, Noble College Masulipatam	6- 0-0
8. President, Carnatic Historical Society, Dharwar	6- 0-0
9. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern circle	6- 0-0
10. Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow	6- 0-0
11. Principal, Presy College, Calcutta	6- 0-0
12. Comissioner, Ajmer Merwara	6- 0-0
13. Music guimet, Paris	3- 0-0
14. Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares	6- 0-0
15. Secretary, Teacher's Association, Bhadrachalam	6- 0-0
	<hr/>
	87- 2-0

—

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Public Meetings.

A public meeting under the auspices of the Society was held on 4-12-1926, in the Hindn Samaj Hall, when Mr. Varanasi Suryanarayana Sastri, delivered an instructive lecture on "*Andhra-bhâshanusasanam*." Pundit Prayaga Venkatarama Sastri garu presided.

Another public meeting of the Society was held on 5-12-1926, in the Hindu Samaj Hall, when Mr. S. Bhimasankara Rao, B. A. read an interesting paper on 'The Maha-Bharatha War, and its historic importance.'

Mr, D. S. Reddi, B. A. (Oxon.) Vice-President of the Society presided.

"Andhrabhasha-nusasanam" is a recent work on Telugu Grammar written with great erudition by Pundit M. Suryanarayana Sastri garu, Telugu Pundit, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry

Meetings of the Council.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 12-11-26.

Resolution passed by circulation among the members of the Council.

"Resolved that M. R. Ry. Ivaturi Kanakachalam Pantulu garu, M. A., L. T., Headmaster, Rajah's College, Parlakimidi, be requested to be so good as to make all necessary arrangements for the celebration of the Kalinga Day at Mukhalingam, on 26th and 27th Dec. 1926, as was resolved by this council at its meeting held on 27-10-26. and that he be requested to co-opt members for the Reception Committee.

Signed. Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao.
Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao.
R, Subba Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.
V. Appa Rao.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 20-11-26.

Resolutions passed by circulation among the members of the Council.

"Resolved that Messrs. R. Subba Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao Joint Secretaries of the Society be requested to proceed to Madras and wait on a deputation on the Rajah Saheb of Parlakimidi now in Madras, to request him to help the Society in the matter of the Kalinga Day Celebration at Mukhalingam."

2. "Resolved that Rs. 30- (Thirty rupees only) be sanctioned as travelling expenses, to the Secretaries.

3. Resolved that the Secretaries may co-opt other members of the Society and any prominent gentlemen at Madras to join in the deputation."

Signed. C. Narayana Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.
Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao.
R. Subba Rao.
D. S. Reddi.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 2-12-1926.

Present. Mr. D. S. Reddi, Vice-President, (in the chair),

„ Ch. Veerabhadra Rao,
„ C. Narayana Rao,
„ N. Kameswara Rao.
„ R. Subba Rao.
„ B. V. Krishna Rao.

I. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent to become members, be enrolled as members of the Society.

Messrs. 1. P. Satyanarayana Rao, M. A. (Oxon.), I. C. S.
2. C. Suryaprakasa Rao, B. A.
3. R. Venkatasivudu, M. A.
4. Prof. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, M. A.
5. N. Rangaswami, M. A.
6. K. L. Narasimha Rao.
7. G. Gangaraju
8. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu
6. Prof. Henry Heras S. J., M. A.
10. William Bertie Brierly, I. E. S.
11. Ch. Raghava Rao, M. A., B. L.
12. P. Satyanarayana, M. A., M. L.
13. Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M. A.
14. D. Appa Rao, Bar-at-Law.
15. D. Sobhanadri Sastri, M. A., B. Com.
16. P. Somasundaram, B. A., B. L.
17. Prattipati Satyanarayana Rao B. A., B. L.
18. A. Venkatachalam, B. A., B. L.
19. C. Rama Rao, B. A., B. L.
20. K. Rajaratnam, B. A.

- Messrs. 21. N. Venkata Subba Rao
 22. T. Ramakrishna Rao, B. A., L. T.
 23. B. Satyanarayana, B. A., L. T.

II. Resolved that the following Journals be accepted in Exchange for our Journal.

1. Jaina Gazette
2. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
3. Archaeological Series published by the Archl. Department H. E. H. The Nizam's Government.
4. Zietschrift fur Indologie (Journal of Indian Philological Research) Halle, (Saale.)
5. Mysore Economic Journal.
6. Journales de la Societe de L' Histoire de L'Inde Francaise, Pondicherry.
7. Educational Review, Madras.
8. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,
9. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10. Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Benares.

III. Read letter from Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, Editor, Mysore Economic Journal, Bangalore.

Resolved to supply him with a copy of "Sri Rajaraja Patta-bhisheka-Sanchika" for review in the Mysore Economic Journal.

IV. Resolved that the following gentlemen be considered to have resigned their membership of the Society.

- Messrs. 1. Adidam Narayanamurthi.
 2. Ganala Ramamurty.
 3. Bhagavatula Appa Rao.
 4. Iyyanki Venkata Ramanayya.
 5. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao.
 6. N. Sundaram Pantulu.
 7. J. V. Krishna Rao.

V. Resolved that the Sum of Rs. 150 (One hundred and fifty only) advanced by the Treasurer on 7-10-1926, and 19-10-1926 be returned to him with thanks.
 (Vide Proceedings of the Council dated 27-10-1926.)

VI. Resolved that the sum of Rs. 100 (one Hundred only) advanced by the Treasurer on 8-11-1926, for paying the Printer be approved.

VII. Resolved that two members of the Society be deputed to enlist support for the Society, and that any expenses they might incur be met by the Society.

- VIII. Resolved that the following members do form a Sub-Committee and fix up a programme, and make all necessary arrangements for the Kalinga Day Celebrations, on 26th and 27th December, with power to add to their number.

Messrs. C. Narayana Rao.

R. Subba Rao.

B. V. Krishna Rao.

I. Kanakachalam Pantulu.

- IX. Resolved that the Raja of Parlakimidi, Sri Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Deo Bahadur Varu, be elected as a PATRON of the Society.
- X. Resolved that M. R. Ry. Dr. S. Krishna Swami Aiyangar Avl., M. A., Ph. D., University Professor of History & Archaeology Madras, be elected as an Honorary Vice-President of the Society.
- XI. Resolved that the accounts of the Society from 27-10-1926 to 2-12-1926, be passed,

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 10-12-1926.

Present:—Mr. C. Narayana Rao (in the chair.)

Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi.

Mr. R. Subba Rao.

B. V. Krishna Rao.

N. Kameswara Rao.

- I. Resolved that the Rani of Kolanka and Veeravaram Estates Sri Sri Sri Rani Rao Ramayamma Rao Bahadur Varu be elected as the Vice-Patron of the Society.
- II. Resolved that the following gentlemen be admitted as members of the Society.

Messrs. 1 M. Narasimham.

2 S. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B. L.

3 S. Subrahmanyam.

4 Iyyanki Venkata Ramanayya.

5 Vadrevu Bapiraju, B.A., B. L.

6 Sri Raja Vikrama Deva Varma Garu.

- III. Resolved that the following Journals be accepted as exchanges for our Journal.

1. Journal of the Academy of Fine Arts, Paris.
2. Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta.
3. Annual Reports of the Epigraphical Department Southern Circle, Madras.
4. Archæological Publications of the Govt. Museum, Madras.

- IV. Read letter from the Editor of the Society's Journal, informing that the present printers of the Journal are not able to do the work satisfactorily,
Resolved that the next part of the Journal be printed in the Diocesan Press, Madras.
- V. Resolved that the proposal of M. R. Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu garu, Treasurer of the Society, to remove the Books and other property of the Society from the Sarada Reading Room to his house be accepted with thanks.
- VI. Resolved that a further sum of Rs. 50 (Fifty rupees only) be returned with thanks to M.R.Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu garu, Treasurer, towards the advance of Rs. 100 paid by him on 8-11-26, and approved on 2-12-26.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 6-1-27.

Present:—Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, President.

„ Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao.

„ R. Subba Rao.

„ D. S. Reddi.

„ N. Kameswara Rao.

- I. Resolved that the accounts from 2-12-26 to 6-1-27 be passed.
- II. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent to become members, be enrolled as members of the Society.

Messrs. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu, M.A., B.L.

(Retired District and Sessions Judge.)

„ T. Bhujanga Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L. Sub-Judge,

„ V. Pichayya, B.A., Pleader, Cuddapah.

„ Srimati Y. V. Ranganayakiamma, B.A., L.T., Teacher.

„ G. Lakshmana Reddi, B.A., B.L., Pleader, Gutti.

„ Chandrasekhara Reddi, B. A., Bezwada.

„ N. Ranga Reddi, B.A., B.L., Vakil, Proddutur.

„ P. Kurma Rao, M.A., L.T., Teacher, Chicacole.

- III. Read letter and telegram from Mr. I. Kanakachalam pantulu, M.A., L. T., Parlakimidi, advising postponement of the celebration of the Kalinga day to 10th & 11th April.

Resolved that the suggestion be accepted under the circumstances stated in the letter.

- IV. Read letters from the Director General of Archaeology in India and Editor, The Indian Antiquary.

Resolved that the following exchanges be accepted:

1. The Indian Antiquary.
 2. Epigraphia Indica.
 3. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
 4. Journal of the Madras Geographical Association.
- V. Resolved that Messrs. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., and R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., be requested to serve on the Editorial Committee of the Journal.

—O—

APPEAL.

The Joint Secretaries earnestly appeal to all members of the Society to be so good as to kindly bring into the Society as many new members as possible and thus help to carry out the objects.

TREASURER'S APPEAL.

Members who are in arrears of their subscriptions are earnestly requested to make early remittances, so as to enable the Society to carry on its work without break.

THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. I

APRIL 1927

No. 4

RAJAHMUNDY MUSEUM PLATES OF
ANNADEVA CHODA.

V. APPA RAO, B. A., B. L.,

INTRODUCTION.

This inscription records the grant of an agrahāra by name Choda Annadevavaram by Anna Dēva Chōla who seems to be a chief of the tract of country between the rivers Krishna and Godavary during the first quarter of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. (1) This C. P. grant is preserved in the Museum Hall at Rajahmundry. It contains at present of four plates; and three more plates at least viz. the second, the fifth, and the seventh are lost. The plates are loose and the ring in which they are fastened is lost. The plates measure 11 ½" by 5". The rims of the plates are slightly raised. There is writing only on one side of the first plate; The plates are in good condition, and the engraving is excellent. The writing is legible. The language used is throughout sanskrit. The plates, were first discovered at Annavaram near Tuni, in the East Godavari District.

POINTS OF PALAEOGRAPHICAL INTEREST.

1. The script used in these plates is the Telugu script. The letters have almost assumed their present shape.

(1) This C. P. grant has been mentioned in the annual report of epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1919 at page 75.

2. la, sha, ka, still maintain their old form.
3. The difference between ba. and bha is that the latter has the top stroke while the former has none. The vogue of denoting the aspirant with down stroke (Vattu) has not come into use.
4. da and ḍa are almost alike except that the latter has a greater curve.
5. Repha in conjunct consonants is denoted in many places by the "velapali gilaka."
6. The vowel 'ē' has no top stroke as at present.
7. The anuswara is always used for the corresponding nasal.
8. Almost all the letters have the top stroke (Talakattu).

SOME POINTS OF ORTHOGRAPHICAL INTEREST.

1. la is used in many places in which la ought to have been used
2. In certain places anuswara is used where it is not necessary.
e. g. Annadeva, Prasamnnā, etc.
3. The letter following the anuswara is doubled in certain places and not doubled in certain places.
4. Words with the anuswara (Where it is not necessary) are also used without the anuswara. Both forms are present as e. g. Prasamnnā. (cf. lines 5 and 11 of plate 1)
5. The use of velapaligilaka to denote the repha is being given up.

The inscription is a prasāsthi of Annadeva Choda and his family in eulogistic terms. The whole inscription except that portion which enumerates the donees is in verse. The language generally is chaste. The description of the country ruled by the Chodas is described very beautifully and is true to nature. The author who composed this prasāsthi states that the country abounded in gardens of areca palm, sugar cane, and mango. It was full of rice fields. Its towns were thronged by traders from all parts of the world. The plate giving the early genealogy of the family is lost. These kings call themselves the Chodas of the solar race. They consider Karikala as the ancestor of their family. They consider themselves as kshatriyas by caste. There are several other Choda families which ruled various portions of the Andhra country like the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and the Velanati Chodas who ruled from Chandavolu. The Kandwakolanu plates of Kamaraja⁽¹⁾ popularly known as Bhaktiraja mentions the legendary Bhagiratha and Sreerama as their ancestors and proceeds to state that Arikala, and Karikala⁽²⁾ were born in that race. In the line of Karikala was born Damanripala who

(1) C. P. No. 181 of Mr. Sewells' list; see inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. 2 Page 982; No. 180. I'm obliged to Mr. B. V. Krishna Row, the former editor of the Journal for getting inked impression of these plates for me.

(१) अरिकालस्ततो जातः । करिकालस्ततो भवेत्

bore the title of Chauhatta Narayana. Even the scanty information obtained in the present inscription carries us one generation earlier than that furnished by the Kandwakolanu plates. Annadeva married in the family of the chiefs of Undi. Pinayundi the brother-in-law of Annadeva seems to be a near relative, most probably the brother of, Undraja. The Ravulaparathi copper plate grant gives their genealogy⁽¹⁾. These Undrajas also claim to be kshatriyas of the Solar race. These Chodas are pious saivites. They made many a votive gift to the temples of Siva at Drākshārāma, Pattasam Mahanandiswaram, Tripurāntakam, Sreesailam and Benares. They patronised brahminical learning by making donations of lands and agraḥāras to brahmins learned in religious and secular lore.

THE GENEALOGY.

The genealogy of the family as gathered from the plates is as follows:—

Eruvabhima
|
Damanripala
|
Somabhupa
|
Gangadhara
|
Kamaraja alias Bhaktiraja
|
Annadeva
|
Veerabhadra

Eruvabhima, the earliest name that this inscription gives is a great warrior. There are some chatu verses in Telugu praising his valour. Mr. V. Prabhakarasastry quotes them in his *Chitupadyamani-manjari*⁽²⁾. He might have been also known by another name

(1) This grant is mentioned by Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao in his history of the Andhras Vol. 3 Page 191—192.

(2) Vol 1 Page 114.

ఉ|| ఏఱువభీమ నిపగతుఁకొని కొండలు చంచలాత్ములై
దూఱనియట్టి ఘోరవనచురములన్ వినితావియోగులై
పాఱుత్రోవలుం దిననిపండ్లును నాఁకటఁ గూరలుపుగా
నేఱుని కఱ్ఱలుంగలవె యీలవణాంబుధి నేష్టితావనిన్.
చ|| గరళపుముద్ద లోహమవగాఢ మహాశనికొట్టు సమ్రేటల్
హరునయనాగ్ని కొల్మి యురగాధిపు కొఱలు పట్టుకొల్లు ది
క్కరటి శిరంబుదాయలయకొఱడు కమ్మరి వేరి పిరసం
హరణగుణాభిరామాడగు మైలమభీమని ఖడ్గస్థప్తికిన్.

Mailamabhimā. It is greatly interesting to have come to know that Eruvabhima who is considered to be a mythical person is a historical personage and the ancestor of one of the powerful feudatory princes of the Telugu Country. His son was Damanripala, known also as Chauhatta Narayana. His son was Somabhupa and very little is known about him. Gangādhara was the son of Somabhupa. He bore the titles of Arigandaraganda and Rāyavēsyabhujanga. He is the father of Kāmarāja and is well known by his other name Bhaktirāja. He was a great devotee of Siva. He worshipped the God during the six prescribed times of the day. He made a pilgrimage to Sreesaila, the holy of the holies for the Saivites, in the Saka year 1227 and made a gift of an agrahāra by name Kandwakolanu to Visvēsvara-brahmachari. This Visvēswara brahmachari lived on Sreesaila and he was one of the most learned and saintly personages, universally worshipped in the fourteenth century. He trained a large body of students who wandered along with him in the Telugu country. We find some of his inscriptions in the temple of Chalukya Bhimeswara. We also learn from Sreenadha's Sivarātri Māhatmyam that Bhaktirāja made grants of two villages by name Ātukuru and Āmudalapalli at the instance of Polidēvayya⁽¹⁾. Bhaktirāja bore the title of Rāyavēsyabhujanga and Gandabhērunda, bhērunda⁽²⁾. It is he who built the town of Kāmapuri, a glowing description of which is given in the present inscription. Previously the capital of these Chodas was Mummadi prolavara which appears to be a great port. Annadeva the son of Kāmarāja is considered to be the greatest hero of his line. He commanded a large body of troops. He and his son Veerabhadra consolidated their power. It is during their time that Kātayavēma was trying to subjugate the territory north of the Krishna. Annadēva was a very great philanthropic person and is known to have fed large numbers of brahmins.

This inscription is of very great local interest. It throws a great light on the history of the country during the 14th and the early part of the fifteenth centuries. The country now known as the districts of Vizagapatam and the Godavaries ceased to be of any importance as a buffer, after the downfall of the Kūkatiyas and it was

(1) Sivarathri Mahatmyam Canto 1 verse 16.

సీ॥ ధర్మకిరాజాఖ్యుచే బర్హతీశ్వరనకు నర్పించె జెరువ దు నాతుకూరు
ధరణ్డిదిపురాంతకు నకాముదల పల్లెరామునేశ్వర భుజంగులూపయిచ్చె.”

(2) गंडमेरुंड मेरुंड माहवे प्वभिवीच्यं

अरिसिंहा : पलायन्ते विहाय खामहंकृतिं

रायवेश्या भुजंगत्वं युक्तम स्यैवभूपते : etc.

the scene of many wars. The Gajapathis of Orissa, the Karnāta kings of Vijayanagara, the reddi chiefs of Venkatagiri and Kondavidu, and the muhammadan powers of the north and the south, all wanted to have ascendancy over the country and a great internecine war began. After 1320 A. D., the Telingana got disrupted into many principalities; the naiks who held great military posts under the Kākatīyas, established petty independencies. (1) There was no central power to bring them under control. Inscriptions record frequent raids by the various powers mentioned above. These chiefs seem to have taken a great part in these battles. They would join one king or the other in order to make a balance of power. Thus we see in order to put down the rising power of the Kannada kings, Annadēva joined hands with the Turushka King (Probably one of the Bahamani kings) and inflicted a defeat on the former. The battle of Kākaraparathi is described as a great sacrifice (Yajna) and it was a crushing defeat for the Kannada kings.

In spite of the bombastic praise conferred on them in this record they do not seem to be more than Mandalesvaras or chiefs of some power. There is no doubt that these were subdued by Kātaya Vema and paid their allegiance to him.

The important historical incidents mentioned in this grant are:—

1. Bhaktisvara defeated Boggara and other yavana chieftains near Gulapundi even while he was a youth,
2. He defeated the Gajapathi near Panchadhāra.
3. He defeated Singabhupathi in a battle near Bharanipādu.
4. He defeated Dibar Khan and others at the town of Pedakonda.
5. He defeated Veerānnavotha near Sūravaram.
6. Having allied himself with the Turushka king Annadēva defeated the Karnāta kings with no other help than that of his sword.
7. Annadeva defeated the kings of the south near Attili and protected 10,000 of the enemy army.
8. With the help of the junior Undi Raja, he killed the Kannada army near Kākaraparathi on the banks of the Godaveri in order to protect his friend.
9. He protected the family of Kātaya Vema as they prostrated at his feet (being defeated in a battle).
10. He gilded the temples of Gōmukha Gīrtisvara and Veerabhadra of Pattasa with gold.

(1) Anithalli's Kaluvacheru inscription; Andhra Bharati Vol. 3 parts 5 & 6.

11. He made a gift of villages to Visvēsvara of Benares his family diety.
12. He gilded with gold the crests of the temples of Bhimesvara at Drākshādirāmapura, i.e. Drākshārāma.
13. He made a gift of 100 cows to brahmins of Pattasam in the river Godaveri.
14. He made an agrahāra of Annadēvavaram and granted it to brahmins.
15. Bhakttsvara built the town of Kamapuri.

Kataya Vema and His Family.

This inscription states that Annadēva protected Kātaya Vema's family having defeated them in a battle. As we have already observed these Chodas are the feudatories of the reddis of Rajahmundry. It is curious to learn that they were defeated by their own vassals. Who are the persons meant by the phrase "Kātaya Vema Vamsa" and how happened it that they came to be defeated?

There is one theory propounded by the author of Andhrula Charitram, Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao, that Annadeva defeated Veerabhadra Reddi and Vemaraddi of Rajahmundry, and ruled that kingdom for about 10 or 15 years after their downfall. In that event the Gajapathis of Orissa must have conquered these Chodas subsequently. There is no other evidence except the present inscription to show that the downfall of the reddis of Rajahmundry was due to these Chodas. On the other hand the tradition and several inscriptions point out that it was Kapilesvara Gajapathi of Orissa that conquered the eastern coast of the Telingana from the reddis. Inscriptions numbers 44, 100, and of the S. I. I. Vol. V. show that by the Saka Year 1380 the viceroys of Kapilēsvara were ruling the Rajahmundry kingdom. The last inscription available of Annadēva is that of Saka Year 1335 (1). And we have got inscriptions of the Rajahmundry reddis even after the year 1335 in the several temples of the Godaveri district. It is not probable that these Chodas might not have made any donative gifts, were they succesful against the reddis. Sreenadha, the famous Telugu poet dedicated his Bhīmēsvara Purāna to Bendapūdi Anna the minister of Veerabhadra Reddi. It might be about the Saka year 1355. In the introductory verses we have got a reference to Annadeva Choda and his son Veerabhadra. It is stated there that Ariyeti Lingana, an ancestor of Anna put down Veerabhadra and Annadēva of the Solar race in order to consolidate the power

of his master Allada Reddi. (1) We know that Allada is the father of Veerabhadra and Vema. Kāśikhandam which is a later work of Sreenadha, dedicated to Veerabhadra Reddi, states that he ruled the country between the Krishna and the Chilka lake. He does not mention any enemy worth the name in the country. Under these circumstances it is not possible to believe that Annadeva defeated Veerabhadra and ruled the kingdom of Rajahmundry. Hence it is not possible that the words 'Kātaya Vēma Vamsa' refers to Veerabhadra and Vema.

The word 'vamsa' literally means a family. We cannot say that it applies to a son-in-law who is not related by consanguine affinity.

Kātaya Vēma the great scholar-hero was a famous minister of Kumāra giri Reddi of Kondavidu. Kumara giri was more interested in music, dancing, dramaturgy, and literature than in the administration of his kingdom⁽²⁾. So he left the reins of the kingdom in the hands of his brother-in-law Kātaya Vēma. Inscriptions describe that he was to Kumāragiri as lord Krishna was to Dharma Raja⁽³⁾. The first thing that Kātaya set himself to do was the restoration of the northern Telingana. With that object Kātaya led many an expedition into the country north of the Krishna. The turbulent Manne chiefs and Annadēva offered the greatest resistance to his onslaught Kātaya succeeded in bringing them under control and added a good slice of the country to the Kondavidu Kingdom. His raids might have been about the Saka Years, 1307, 1310, and 1313. We have got inscriptions of Kātaya Vēma in all these years⁽⁴⁾. Excepting these three inscriptions all the other available inscriptions of Kātaya Vēma are after the Saka Year 1330. For some reason not exactly known, Kātaya Vēma left Kondavidu for good and settled down at Rajahmundry, at some time prior to Saka 1330. The Thotharamudi inscription above referred to states that Kumāragiri made a gift of the

(1) Bheemeswarapurānam Cantos 1 verse 63.

శ్రీ॥ ధూడేశవనసప్రమాదా భారహదంతి వంతునాదిశీతశ్వరులఁ గలచి

యొడ్డాది మత్స్యవంశోదయోర్జునుచేతఁ బల్లవాధిపుచేత బలచమంది

దండకారణ్యమధ్య పులిందరాజ రంభాహివంశజాలకు నభయమొసరి

భానుమత్కుల వీరభద్రుని దేవేంద గర్వసంరంభంబు గట్టిపెట్టి

యననకర్ణాటకటక భూధవులలోడ బలిమినాటించి యేలింపెఁ బలుగు భూమి

దననిజస్వామి నల్లాడ ధరణినాథు భళిరె యరియేటిలింగన ప్రభువగుండు॥

(2) See Kātaya Vema's Commentary on Malavikāgnimitra; Introductory verse

(3) Epi. Indi.—Vol iv p p. 318—27 (the Tottaramudi Inscr).

(4) S. I. I. Vol. 5 No. 7 & 155; Epi. Indi. Vol. IV P. 828.

eastern kingdom of Rajahmundry to Kātaya Vēma being pleased with his services to the state.

Kātaya Vēma must have died about the Saka Year 1336. His last inscription bears that date. His son Kumāragiri's inscriptions assuming the title of the king begin in that year⁽¹⁾. Kumāragiri the son of Kātaya Vēma must have been a mere youth at the time of his accession. Kumāragiri seems to have died shortly afterwards. He was a married man, and left a son. The state of the country at the time of Kumāragiri's death is elaborately described in the Kaluvacheru inscription of Anithalli. That record after stating that Kumāragiri died, goes on to say that Allada the relative (Bandhu) of Kātaya Vēma has raised the earth which sunk into the sea of turbulent chiefs who proved traitorous to the cause of their lord. He then conferred the kingdom on Anithalli⁽²⁾. A similar state of affairs has been recorded in the Palivela inscription of Allada which bears the date of Saka 1338. It traces the genealogy of Allada and goes on to state that, after the death of Kātaya Vēma, Allada uprooted the whole of his (Kātaya's) enemy race, and established the kingdom of Kātaya Vēma permanently for his offspring. Here by his word 'Drohi kula' a number of enemies are referred to⁽³⁾.

It is clear from this that, after the death of Kātaya Vēma, there was a rebellion in the country. The rebels are described as 'kunṛipathis, and 'drohis'. The latter word literally means a traitor, a man who proves ungrateful to his lord. Who are these rebels? our surmise is that they are no other than Annadēva Chōḍa and his son Veerabhadra. There might have been the Undrajas and the

(1) S. I. I. Vol. 5. Nos. 4, 3, 2. Local Records Vol. 2 P. 125.

- (२) वेम क्षितीश तिलकेऽथ कथावशेषे । भतीकुमार गिरि रस्यमुतो भुवो भूत्
पश्चद्वराधिपति भाव जुगुप्सयेव । स्वस्थान ऐव सकुमार गिरीश्वरोपि॥ ४३
अथवेमेश्वर बंधुर्विलसति भुवनप्रशस्त गुणं संधुः
दोडुय अल्ल नरेंद्रः प्रथित महा समरकेळि निस्तंद्रः ४४
स्वामिद्रोह परायण कुनृपति जलरासि निमग्नधरां
दोडुय अल्ल नरेंद्रो हरिरिव सौकृतस्समुद्धृतवान् ४५
दरित रहित चित्तोदोडुयाल्लाडभूपो । भुव मरिजनयवस्यां भूयसा हृत्य दोष्णा
विमल गुण युतायां वेम भूपाम्मजाया । मवनि सुरसुधाया मन्नितल्यां न्यथत्त ४६

(3) S. I. I. Vol. 5. No. 113.

- (३) गते दिवं काटय वेम भूपे निर्मूल्य तद्रोहिकुलं समस्तं
अचंचल श्रीकमसौ तनोति तत्संतते राज्य मरात्यधृप्यां॥ ४८

border Manne chiefs along with them. These, taking advantage of the death of Kātaya and finding Kumāragiri to be a weakling, rose in rebellion and defeated the Reddi armies. Kumāragiri might have died on the battlefield. The rebels were momentarily victorious. Allāla the 'bandhu' of Kātaya now rose to the occasion and put down the rebellion with a strong hand. In this suppression one Manchalla Naraharineni, son of Pinnamaneni had helped Allāda very greatly. The inscriptions below noted bear the dates S. 1337 and S. 1338 respectively and are in the temple of Kshīrāmēśvara, at Palkol in Narsapur taluk, West Godavari district⁽¹⁾. Naraharineni styles himself as "Doddayya Yalla Bhuthalapathe Rajya prathisthāpaka" and in one place Allāda is styled as 'Chamūnatha'. It is evident from these that Allāda with the help of his vassals was pursuing the rebel Annadeva in his own territory.

From this it is clear that the Reddi kingdom of Rajhamundry has come into the hands of Allāda and his sons through Anithalli, the daughter of Kātaya Vēma after the death of her brother Kumāragiri and his son. Allāda was only a commander of the army.

Dr. Hultsch thinks that the traitor (Drōhi) referred to in the Palivela inscription is Peda Komati Vemāreddi of Kondavidu. We think it is more probable that the enemy referred to is Annadēva and his comrades, but not Peda Komati Vēma. The name of the drohi is not mentioned in the inscription; the writer feels that even to mention his name is *infra dig.* It cannot also be said that Peda Kōmati is in any way a drohi of Kātaya Vēma. The word used is 'drōhikula' and we think the meaning of it to be a large number of traitors, and not the family of one drōhi. The word used for these traitors in Anithalli's inscription 'Kunṇpathi Jalarāsi' supports our view. It cannot also be said that Allāla uprooted the family of Peda Kōmati for, we know that Rāsha Vēmana son of Peda Komati succeeded his father and met his death otherwise than on the battlefield. Undoubtedly, the victory mentioned in the Palivela inscription is against these Chōlas only. Subsequent to the Saka year 1335 we do not hear any thing of Annadēva or his son Veerabhadra. Evidently the line became extinct.

DATE OF THE GRANT.

Unfortunately the plate mentioning the year of the grant is lost. Hence we have to find the probable date. Certain of the incidents mentioned here are mentioned in other lithic records of known dates. This inscription states that Annadēva gilded the crest of the temple of Bhimaya (Bhimesvara) at Drākshārāma,

(1) S. I. I. Vol. 5 Nos. 133, 134.

An inscription on the walls of that temple bearing the Saka year 1336 celebrates this event. In that inscription Annadēva is styled as Rājadhīrāja Paramēsvara Pūrvasimhāsanaḍḍhīvara Paramamāhesvara." The gift of 1000 cows to brahmins at Pattasam might be about Saka year 1330. Pattasam is now known as Pattisam and is a celebrated place of Saivite pilgrimage. There is also another such place at Mahanandēsvaram near Pōlavaram in the Agency division of the East Godavary district. Pattisam and Mahanandēsvaram seem to have come into great celebrity in the fourteenth century of the Christian era. There is an inscription of Annadeva on the temple of Mahanandesvaram, making certain gifts of land in Krōpāka to the temple of Mahanandēsvaram and its Sthānathipathi Nissanka Kāmaya. This inscription bears the date of Saka year 1330. It might be that Annadēva visited Mahanandēsvaram on the occasion of his visit to Pattasam. Finally we have got the reference to the defeat of Kātaya Vēma's family, It might be probably, as we have suggested in the previous paragraphs, about the year S. 1336. This grant might have been made when Annadēva obtained a victory over the Reddis and was full of high hopes about S. Year 1336.

NAMES OF PLACES.

The grant is of a village named after Annadeva. Its full name is Choda Annadevavaram. In the abridgement of the name it may become either Chōdavaram or Annavaram. There are a number of villages bearing resemblance to the above two names. It is also stated that the village is situated in Visarainadu and is on the banks of Ganga at Pinnasani sanga. Further it is to the west of the hill of pallūru. Ganga is another name given to the river Godavari and it is not possible to find out any village bearing such name near the banks of the Godavari. There are a number of other towns mentioned in the grant, Kāmapuri, the town built by Kamaraja may be Kamavarapukota in the west Godavari district. Mummadi prolavaram which is described to be a big trading centre may be Murumanda Polavaram in the East Godavari district. Kānkaraparru is now known as Kākaraparru and is in the West Godavari district. Attili is still known by that name. Panchadhāra is a village bearing the same name even now, about 15 miles from Anakapalli in the Vizag district.

TEXT¹

Plate 1.

1. Om kâra van-nikhila² vâg-vibhavasya sṛṣṭirādya Sarat-tuhina
dīdhiti camdrik-ābhā sarvās-varādi Sakalāmara vaṁ—
2. da nīyyā³ vāṇi varābhayakarā bhavtāt-prasaṁ⁴nnā sā bhārati
nikhila⁵ veda purāṇa rūpa vâg-vādinī ka—
3. maḷa⁶ sambhava mukhya vaṁdyā-haṁsāvadāta vapu-rāgama mauli
mṛgya cin-mātra mūrttir⁷-avatā-dakhila⁸—
4. prapaṁcam-ānamda mūrttir⁹-akhilāmtara. margga¹⁰ vṛttir-
ambhōruhaika saṁcaraṇōllasanti-āsvadit-ēṁdu vi—
5. gaḷan-na marā-mṛtardrān sā yōgi vaṁdyā vibhavā bhavatāt-
prasaṁnnā¹¹-Dantāgra kōṭi dara dasṭa dharā dharasya yasyā—
6. m gake nikhila vāridhayah pravrdhāh-svādāmbu bimdu vad-
udāmcita satva vṛttēr-rābhāmtyasau kiri tanur-hari—
7. rastu bhūtyai ||4|| yasya trilōka janant janant bhavān¹
yasyēsvarah stri¹² jagatām janakō girisah yasya smṛtir-
nikhila vi—
8. ghna tamō vivasvān-so-yaṁ karimdra-vadanō jayatāt-kumārah
(5) Hōmātri garbha vipulaika purōpakamṭha prā—
9. kâra bhūta mahitāvadhi parvatāgrē-visvaṁ prabōdhayitum-
uccalitō pradīpau dēva Jnayēva jayatā—
10. miha Pushpavāntau (6) yām saṁstuvānti Girijām Prakṛtimca
Mūyām Lakshmīm Girām sakala sṛṣṭi nidāna rūpām— Du
11. rgā pracandā Mahishāsura mardini sā Bhargaika mṛgya vibhavā
bhavatāt-prasaṁnnā¹³ (7) Kriḍan-mudā śṛti putāmcita tigma—
12. Bhānus-cūḍa-vatamsa pada lambita camdra bimbah-ud-dāma
śṛṅga rava pūrita padmaj-āṁḍah kshêtrēsvarō disatu sa—
13. -rva śubhāni nityam | 8 | Gaṁgā taraṅga tanu sīkara tāra kārthi
samsēvyā māna Himarāsmi kalā kirīṭam ardhāṅga kām̐tama—
14. ṇimādi guṇōllasamtām-ārādhayāmi manasā śivam-asṭa mūrtim
| 9 | Adhyāsitu¹⁴ śvaśura maṇidira ē

1 From the original plates. Impressions will appear in a subsequent issue of the journal.

2 Read 'nikhila'	3 Read 'niya'	4 Read 'prasannā'
5 Read 'nikhila'	6 Read 'Kamala'	7 Read 'mūrti'
8 Read 'khila'	9 Read 'mūrti'	10 Read 'khila'
11 Read 'prasanna'	12 Read 'yaseyeswarastri'	
13 Read 'prasannā'	14 Read 'Adhyāsitu'	

Plate 2 A¹

15. lāmara kāmīnībhih-yuddhāṅgaṇē nihata vira varō-sya kāmīta
vishṇōr-ivā-bdhi tanayā bhavad-annamāmbā *
16. Jātas-tayōr-abhavad-ēruva Bhīma bhūpastrāilōkya gita vimalāt-
ma² yasāh pratāpah-Pōlāmbikā pr—
17. tir-anēka kalā pravīṇō bhūlōka kalpa tarurivā-kshipē yah-
Lakshmīpatis-tadanu Dāmanrpāla cam—
18. drō jātas-tayōr-jagati viśruta dharma mūrtti³ Sūrāmbikā patir-
abhūd-adha sōma bhūpah khsirambudhē—
19. riva tatō jagatām-upāsyah-Gaṁgādhārōjana⁴ tayōrirugāmbikāyāh
prāṇesvarah pradhita māna—
20. dhanō nrpālah-sākshāl-girīśam-iva yam vibudhāstuvamti
dharmaika mūrtim-arigamāṇḍara gamḍa kirtim
21. Gaṁgādhārād-irugamāmbikayā samētāt-saubhāgya śaurya mahitō-
jani kāmārājah-yas-caṁdra
22. cūda caraṇāmburuhaika bhaktyā Bhaktisvarāhvayam-agād-
bhuvanēshu pascāt * Prāmtē yuvaiva Gu-
23. lapoomḍi purasya sūrān yō Bhōggarādi yavanādhi-patīn-ajaisht-
prācyamca koppula patir-ddisi⁵
24. yēna Paṁcadhāraṁgaṇē Gajapatiṁ Jayat-ābhyashēci-sūragraṇir-
bharāṇi pāṭi puri samipē yas-siṁga
25. bhūtala patiṁ kadanō vyanaishit-yas-tōjasāca Pēḍakomḍa puri
samipē Rakshōbalān-daburu khānu
26. mukhan-ajashit⁶-yēnaiva Sūravara paṭṭana⁷ sannidhanō virānna
vōta nṛpatir-vijitō vinōdat tasyāgrahit-kara
27. Sarōruham-annamāmbā Bhaktisvarasya Girijēvaśasāṁka maulēh*
Bhaktisvarōyam-adha nirmītavān-udārām-u
28. jrumbhamāṇa vibhavāṁ puram-ātma nāmnā-yā-puṇyasīla
manujāsraya nōjjāgatyām kalyāṇa nāma ka—

Plate 2 B.

29. manīyya⁸ tarā parābhūt * Āmhrāvataṁsam-īha kāmāpuri
prasiddhā vistāri Sarva vibhavā sukrutaika
30. Bhūmih - Jitvā - marēndra (1) nagarīm kshapitāpda puṇyām
ujjrumbhatī satata sambharad-amṇa dānā⁹ * Harmyēsuya—
31. tra nīsi nirbhara kāmataṁtra kāmīta kucaṁtara gaḷan-mṛgaṇābhi
rēṇau nityam caran sitagurupyabhajat-kalāṁkā bha—

1 one plate seems to have been lost 2 Read 'vimalātma'

3 Read 'mūrtih'

4 Read 'Ajani'

5 Read 'disi'

6 Read 'ajaisheet'

7 Read 'Paṭṭana'

8 Read 'amarendra'

9 Read 'Aunadānā'

32. vaṁ dhruvaṁ jayati kāmapurīya murvyān * yatrānu vidhi
vicaran-narupōdayādi vēlāsu sūci—
33. ta śivārcana¹ karma yajnah-gṇam̐tā ravah śruti pathēna manah
praviśya tatrāpyagham harati kāmapurī—
34. ya midyā * yatrāmgaṇē m̐hita puṇyaphalaika gāmyō kastūri
kādyā gaṇitārddha gaṇim nirtkshya-vidvad-gaṇō
35. Bhavad-ananta padārdha vādi sarvōpi sā jayati kāmapurī
prdhivyām * Bhaktisvarasya tanayō-māhi—
36. tōṇna dēvas-tasyābhavaj-jagati jaṁgama pārijatah-saundarya
sīma paribhūta Jayantā ki—
37. tti² lāvanya nihnuta navina mrgāṁka mūrttil³ * vēśyām-
ganāyata virōlhi dharātālēm̐drō bāhupratāpa
38. vibhavād-anadēva bhūpah-Bhūtvā turuśka Nṛpatōssagarē⁴
sahāyah karṇāta sainyaṁ-asī mātrasakhō
39. vyanaśit * uddam̐da vṛtti vibhavāttripurimiv-ōśō yō jaggavāga
mukha vairi varāṇyajaisit-Sam̐
40. Jivanam̐ suravara dvijapungavānēm̐ jāgartiyayam̐ jagati cōḍa
kalām̐nnadēvah⁵ * Bhāryōm̐nnatah⁶ sukṛta
41. vān sūra vipravarya visvasa vistr̐ta sanasta vibhūti bhōlah-
Sri Visvanātha caranārcana saka⁷ bhaktir-mṛtyu—
42. m̐jayō jayatu⁸ cōḍakulām̐na dēvah⁹ * Sri cakravarti tanayām-
irugāmbikām yah Sūryāṇvavāya su—

Plate 3 A.

43. kṛtaika phalam̐ suśīlām-Pim̐num̐di¹⁰ bhūpa sahaṇām lalanā lalāma
bhagyōnnatām-udavahadgirijām-ivēsah *
44. Sri virabhadra nṛpatir-bhuvanaika virōyasyātatajvam-aramd-
ravi vaṁsa dīpah-soyam̐ vinirjita samasta vi—
45. rōlhi bhūpō jāgartti¹¹ cōḍa kula maṇḍana mam̐na dēvah¹² *
yēna-iva bhūviditam̐ttili śim̐ni sarvān-nirjitya, dakshi—
46. ṇa dig-isvara vairi bhūpāṇ-tatpaṭṭanāvaraṇ¹³ madhya gatās-ca-
namrās-samrakshitā daśa sahasra mitā vipakshah*
47. Adhvaryu bhūta pinayum̐di nṛpēna yēna Sri-Gautami nikata
kāṁkarapartti¹⁴ vēdyām-ālabhya kām̐naḍa¹⁵ mukhah
48. pasūnakāri virādvarō nija suhṛtpari raksha-nāyai * pādāmbuja
praṇata Kātāya Vēma vaṁsah kirtyaika Vatsa

1 Read 'Sivārcana'	2 Read 'rti'	3 Read 'mūrttil'
4 Read 'Samarē'	5 Read 'Annadēvah'	6 Read 'Bhāryōnnatah'
7 Read 'Sakta'	8 'tu' is engraved below the line	
9 Read 'annadēvah'	10 Read 'Pinnun̐di'	11 Read 'jāgarfi'
12 Read 'annadēvah'	13 Read 'paṭṭana' etc.	14 Read 'kākaraparti'
15 Read 'kannaḍa'		

49. latayā samarakshi yēna-sōyam vibhātī śaraṇāgata bhūpa rakshā
dikshā gururjayati cōḍa ku—
50. lāmna¹dēvah * yasminprasāsati mahīmanadēva bhūpē sarvōpa-
sargga² rahitā manujās-sadaiva-pūgikshu kâna—
51. -na talēsu³ mudā ramanitē nityōtsavā vijayatēyamudāra tējāh *
yad-dēsa ēva vitatōksu vanēsu⁴ pakva sālyā—
52. di sasya bharitē sahakāra sāmndrē-sarvōpasargga⁵ rahitē sukrtaika
gamyē khēlaṁti⁶ nūnam-amarā manujāvatā
53. -rāh* yad-dēsa matlīmanī mummadi prōlavāram nānā dig-āgata
mahā vaṇijām nivāsam-saṁkhādyanōka nidhi
54. nitya nivāsa bhūmim smṛtvā bhiyōna dhanadō bhajad-īsa
sakhya⁷* sātkaḷa pūjita sadāśiva pādī padmō nityām⁷
55. na dāna niyamārcitā⁸ bhūmī dēvah-Gōrāja kīrtana samarpita⁹
gō sahasrī vibhrajatē vimālā¹⁰ vamsa bhavō-mīnadō¹¹—
56. vah* Nityam girīsa caranā-varuṇō layādī vōlāsu sātṭvapi mudāyuta
samkhyā dīpāih nirājayanvīmā—

Plate 3 B.

57. -lā¹² cōḍa kulāmna¹³ dōvō jāgartti¹⁴ rāja piramōsvara ēsa
bhūmyām* cāmikara vyajana cāmara kētu yuktā ccha—
58. trāṁka hēma lalanāmkitā sapta bhaumam-sauvarṇam-irādu
mukuriya samarpa kāmām saudham samulla—
59. -sati cōḍa kulāmna¹⁵ dēvah* mālūrya mukhya rasa sātka vilāsa
mr̥ṣṭa nityāmna¹⁶-dāna vibhavāpahatā-kṣudhārti-sai
60. -va dvijēndra jāti yōgi kulam prahr̥ṣṭam-yat=pattānō¹⁷ vija-
tyam=ayam=amna¹⁸ dēvah * śrī Gautamī nikata
61. Pattāsa vīrabhadra prāmītē dvijēndra nikarāya gavām sahasram-
dattvā¹⁹ tha tattṛsam=asau madhitum kilādā²⁰ cōḍa—
62. -dāmna²¹ dēva nṛpatir=jaladhimscaapta * yēnākhilāmpi²² dha-
rām sasurādri mukhyamuttapta kāmēana mayām
63. dadatā dvijēbhyah-bhūmātradah paṭu jitah kila jāmādagnyas=
cōḍāmna²³ dēvaraghunāyaka ēsa bhātī *
64. Yēnaiva śrī gōmukha girīsvara vīrabhadra dēvālayō mahita hō-
ma mayahkr̥tō=bhūt-śrī kāsikādhi—

1 Read 'anna'

2 Read 'sarga'

3 Read 'talēsu'

4 Read 'vanēsu'

5 Read 'sarga'

6 Read 'khēlaṁti'

7 Read 'nitya'

8 Read 'niyamārcita'

9 Read 'Samarpita'

10 Read 'Vimālā'

11 Read 'Annadē'

12 Read 'lā'

13 Read 'Kulāṁna'

14 Read 'Jāgarti'

15 Read 'Kulāṁna'

16 Read 'Nityāṁna'

17 Read 'Pattānō'

18 Read 'anna'

19 Read 'datva'

20 Read 'kilādā' Etc.

21 Read 'anna,'

22 Read 'khilāmpi'

23 Read 'anna'

65. patayē kula dēvatāya grāmās = cavīrya patayas = samudāyi yēna *
sauvarṇam = ātma kulasēkhara cōdavaṁdya
66. drakṣēdi rāmapurā bhīmaya saudha śṛṅgam = āmdhra sthalimu-
kuṭa ratnamakāri yēna cōdāmna¹ dēvadharanītala nāya kēna.
67. Yō-yam lasad-visari namṭi samākhyā dēśe cōdāmna² dēva vara
muttama gaṁḍa pūrvam-gaṁga tatē bhuvana viśṛta—
68. Pimnna³sāni saṁgē = nna dēva nṛpatir dvijasād = akarsit * pallāri
sailavara pascima śimni gaṁgā tīrēmna⁴dēvavara nā—
69. mavarā⁵grahārah-puṇyēna yēna samudāyi mahā janēbhyaś = cōdām-
na⁶dēva dharanīpatir = ēśa bhāti*
70. (5) vayāuvāya vinirmala vipravaryā vidyōmnata⁷ vidhivād-udva-
hanam prañtāh śūryānvavāya tilakēna = ca—

Plate 4 A.⁸

71. Bhāradvāja kulārnava pūrṇa sudhākarāvanipati mitram Śrī Kā-
canūrya tanayah vengayanā
72. mā dvijemdra iha bhāgi-29-kaumḍinya gōtrābdhi sudhā mayūkhah
kōvri Rāmātmaja rāma camdrah-Ā-
73. cāracāgāmī tatva darsī bhāgiha-Mṛtyumjaya pāda bhaktah-30-
Kaumḍinya gōtrāmbuja śūryyō⁹ tē—
74. jah Śrī bhāskara Śrī nṛharēs-tanūjah sāmgāgamē¹⁰ sameita kīrtir-
atra bhāgi-sadācāravatām varēnyah—31—
75. Śrī kācibhaṭṭa tanayah kāsyapa gōtrābdhi pūrṇa hima rasmi-
h-nārāyaṇō-tra bhāgi-jyautis śāstraika marma—
76. tatvajnah-32-Śrī Gūḍapartti vallabha tanayah Śrī yōbhaḷemdra
nāmātra bhāgi kāsyapa gōtrah puṇyas-sanma
77. -rgga camdramā vidvān-33-Ātrōya gotra tilaka ādīdalu nāma
dvijāti vara sūnuh yajurarnava camdra yasā
78. varadaya nāmātra bhāgavān-viprah-34-Śrīrāmādima Simgaya
tanayō gaṁgādha-rēmdra viprēmdrah
79. Kaumḍinya gōtra pātram bhāgi-yajusām nidhānam-iha puṇyah-
35-Śrī Gauraya Viprēsvara tanaya Śrī¹¹ + + +
80. + + nāpanvayō vidvān bhāradvāja kulāmbuja bhānu yasā
bhāgavānatra-36-Ādityāvani dēva pri—
81. ya tanayō hārita vamsa padmārkkah¹² yajusā maṇi ratnākara
tējāh puruṣottamo-tra labdhāmśah-37—

1 Read 'anna'

2 Read 'auna'

3 Read 'Pinna'

4 Read 'tīrēnna'

5 Read 'ma mahā'

6 Certain letters are illegible.

7 Read 'vidyōnnata'

8 One plate seems to have been lost.

9 Read 'Śūryō'

10 Read 'Sāmgāgamaiḥ'

11 Read 'śrī; some letters after this are not legible.

12 Read 'padmārkkah'

82. cimiñipi kûcaya bhûsura namdanô hârîta vamsa mahârñava cam-
dramâh-sakala¹ sâstra dêhasya vêdha² × ×
83. sa vâñiha tallaya nâma sadhîsvarah-38-Kaumîdinya vamsârñava
camdramûrtti Sri yam nama kshmasalê —
84. ra namdanôtra viśvêsvarô yâjusabhâgya dēva labdhâmsa vânatra
satâm varēnyah-39-Gôpâla bha³ + + esâ.
85. punyô śrî mamna mâkhya harîtanvavâyah-Jyoutirvidâm = agrê-
sari kîrtir = atra labdhâmsavânâgama-para dr̥śvâ-40—

Plate IV side (b).

86. + + + vamsa vârdhîmduh-annaya papam⁴ bhattô yajusâm nidhir =
apra—
87. yatâcârah-41-Srî bhâradvâjanvaya vallabha dharñi surâtmañah
punyah lakshmaña nâmâ viprô vêdavidô (a)
88. trâmśavândhanyah-42-sa (u) ppula vibudhavarô vallabhâ hrda-
yabja bhânûmân punyah-kaumîdinya vamsa tila—
89. kô bhâgi vêdaika mûrthir = iha śodhuri-4-śrîman = nâgaya vi-
dvattnyô nigamaikamûrthir⁵ = ihabhâgi-dumḍi—
90. gaḍa nâganâmâ kâsyapa gôtrâbdhi pûrñimâcamdrah-44-śrî Rāju
komdamallaya tanaya śrî⁶ mallikârjunâkhya
91. nah-kâsyapa gôtra pavitrô bhâgi nikhilâgamaika⁷ tatvajnah-45-
mumḍumgûri erranâkhyemânyô vidusâm samasta sa—
92. -strajnah bhâradvâja kulârñava camdrô bhâgtha vêla tatva-
jnah-46-kôlalapalli puradhima simgayatanayô ya—
93. jurnidhib punyah-śrî kṛṣṇa dvijanâma kâsyapa gôtrô grhîta
bhâgotra-474śrî kamdukûri yobhalatana
94. -ya śrîrâma nâmâtra bhâgi yâjusa manir-guna jaladhi haritânva-
yâ-vatara sa yasâh-48-śrî kṛṣṇa
95. *yyatanayo yajurâkara buddhir—amita guṇa kâmtih-śrîmâ-
nadantânâmâ bhâgi-śrîvatsa vamsa vârdhîmduh-49—
96. Sri bhâradvâja kulô dēvaya dharañi surâtmañah Sri jâbhala nâmâ
bhâgi yajuradhyayanaika suddha bdhir-i—
97. -ha-50-Srî Sarva dēva tanayâya janârdanâya kaumîdinya gôtra
tilakâya mahâ janêmdrâh-tê sarva ēva sa—
98. mudîrita śasanâya Svîyaika bhâga sadṛśam vṛtarannihâmsam-
51-bhaktyâ kalja a Kommarâja tanayinatra—
99. pratiśthâpita Sri Kedâra mahêśvarâya mahasê Sri Mâdhavēna
dvijâh—⁹

1 Read 'Sakala'

2 Certain letters are indistinct here.

3 Some letters are indistinct.

4 Some letters are indistinct.

5 Read 'mûrti'

6 Read 'śrî'

7 Read 'nikhilâgamaika'

8 Read letters are indistinct

9 nearly a line and a half is very indistinct in my impression.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Form plate 2 A.

His wife was Annamāmba. She was to him like the daughter of the ocean to Vishnu. Eruva Bheema Bhūpa was their son; he was the husband of Prōlāmbika; he was well versed in many arts and was very famous. After them Dāmanṛpala the husband of Lakshmi. To them was born Sōmabhoopa whose fame spread through the world for Dharma; his wife was Soorāmbika. To them was born Gangādhara; his wife was Irugāmbika; he was full of valour and was praised by the wise. He was the very embodiment of Dharma; he bore the title of Arigandara Ganda. To Gangadhara and Irugāmbika was born Kāmarāja full of auspiciousness and valour. He was well known in the worlds as Bhakteeswara for his great devotion to the lotus feet of the God whose head ornament' is the Moon. Even as a youth he vanquished the Yavana heroes like Boggarā near Gula-poondi. He conquered Gajapati near Pancadhāra in the East. He conquered Singabhoopa in a battle near the town of Bharanipādu; he defeated the demon-forces of Diburkhān and others near the town of Pēḍakonda; he defeated with great skill the great hero Annavōta near the town of Sooravaram. He married Annamāba. Bhakteeswara then built a town bearing his own name Kāmapuri. It became the habitat of people of merit and conduct. It was well known by the name of Kalyāna and was the head ornament of the Andhradesa; it was full of splendour and was the land of good deeds. It beat the town of Indra in the matter of washing away sins and in gifts of food at all times of the day. The ringing of bells early in the morning during the worship of Lord Siva entering the minds of men through the ears, cleanses their sins. Kāmapuri had shops full of musk and invaluable jewels. Bhakteeswara's son was Annadēva; he is a moving Pārijāta tree on earth; he beat in beauty Jayanta and Mrgānka (the moon); he vanquished all his enemies. He allied with the Turushka king and with the help of his sword alone defeated the Karnata king. He showed great valour in defeating Jaggavāga and others. He is a great patron of the Brahmins. He performed many good acts. He is a devotee of Sree Viśwanātha of Benares. He married Irugāmbika daughter of Sree Chakravarti and sister of Pinnundi Rajah of the Solar race. Veerabhadra the great hero was their son. Annadēva defeated all the kings of the South at Attili and protected ten thousand of the enemy army which took refuge in that town. He performed a sacrifice (Veerādhwara) in order to protect his friend with Pinayundi Rajah as the priest (Adhwaryu) and the Kannada kings as the paṣū (the sacrificial goats) on the altar (vedi) of Kākaraparti near the Godavari. Being desirous of fame he protected the family of Kātaya Vēma as they (being defeated in battle)

prostrated at his feet. While he was reigning men like Devas on earth, the country was full of gardens of Areca nut and sugar cane and mango. Mummadiprôlavâra was the crescent of all the towns and it was the abode of great traders who came there from all parts of the earth. Annadêva was worshiping the Lord Siva during six times of the day and was offering one thousand lights every evening. He was offering free food daily to all Saivaites, Brahmins and Assetics that flocked to the town. He made a gift of one thousand cows at the Veerabhadra temple on Pattisam in the river Godavary. He gilded with gold the temple of Veerabhadra; he gave a donation of certain villages to his family deity the Lord of Kasi. He erected a pinnacle of gold to the temple of Bheemaya (Bheemeswara) at Drâkshârâma and made it the ornament of all temples of Āndhralêsi. He gave as an Agrahâra Chodânnadêvavarâma near the banks of Gangâ in the country of Visarinâdu. It was to the west of the hill of Pallooru and near Pinnasanisanga. He celebrated the marriages of many Brâhmîns.

LIST OF DONEES

1. Vengaya	...	Bharadwaja gotra
2. Kovuri Ramachendra	...	Kowndinya "
3. Bhaskara	...	Do, "
4. Narayana	...	Kasyapa "
5. Obhalendra	...	Do. "
6. Ayiddalu	...	Atreya "
7. Gangadhara	...	Kowndinya "
8.		
9. Purushottama	...	Harita "
10. Thallaya	...	Do. "
11. Visweswara	...	Kowndinya "
12. Annama	...	Harita "
13. Annayapapambhattu	...	
14. Lakshmana	...	Bharadwaja "
15. Vuppulu	...	Kowndinya "
16. Sodhuri	...	
17. Dundigada Nagana	...	Kasyapa "
18. Rajukonda Mallikharjuna	...	Do. "
19. Mundunguri Yerranna...	...	Bharadwaja "
20. Kolalapalli Sree Krishna	...	Kasyapa "
21. Kandukoori Sree Rama...	...	Harita "
22. Ananta	...	Sreevatsa "
23. Jabhala	...	Bharadwaja "
24. Janadhasa	...	
25. Kedara Maheswara	...	

SOME CHOLA COINS

R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR, M. A.

A treasure consisting of 21 gold coins was found in survey No. 169, Parla village, Kurnool district, on 2-12-1918. These gold pieces were discovered during the removal of stones from a field.

Under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act the find was declared ownerless and was acquired for the Government Museum, Madras.

The treasure comprises 14 varaha, 6 kadamba fanams, and one quarter kadamba fanam. It is with these 14 varahas the present paper deals.

The fourteen varahas are all round and are of the well known Chalukya type called Padmatanka. They preserve their cup-shaped form in almost all cases. One of them is thinner and larger than the others. They show various punch marks on the surface, the most prominent of which are the two auspicious symbols "Sree" in old Telugu Cannada script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At one extremity of the vertical diameter is found in Telugu-Kannada character the name or title of the king who issued the coin and at the other end is found a hook attached to a spear bearing the sun and the moon. There is also a stroke below the hook. The other symbols are the fingers of a lion or tiger with open mouth, raised paw and twisted tail, very crudely represented by dots and lines. The Central part is occupied by the figure of a lion. The reverse side of the coin is blank. Ten of the coins bear the legend "NTAKAKA" one of them bears "NNAKITI" another "AKSHA" another "KSHADA" or "KSHABA" and one NA. The legends are incomplete.

These fourteen varahas are of five different types:—

- No. 1. This comprises ten coins. They are round but slightly bulging out on the four sides.
- Size.* Varying from 20/24 to 21/24 of an inch in diameter.
- Weight.* Varies from 54.25 to 55.6 grains.
- Description.* At the top of the vertical diameter is the legend 'ntakaka' in Telugu-Kannada script at the other end there is a spear with a hook turned towards its proper left.

The handle of the spear is turned towards the centre of the coin. There are two dots on the proper right of the spear which probably stand for the sun and moon. The symbols 'Sri' are found at

the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The interspaces are filled with pellets, dots which probably represent lions,

No. 2. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind. Round.

Size. Round with $1\frac{1}{24}$ inches in diameter.

Weight. 54.5. grains.

Description. It bears the Telugu-Kannada 'nnakiti' at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below the opposite extremity we find an 'ankusa'. The symbols 'Sri' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. There is a standing lion in the centre and along the border and the interspaces between the four punchmarks already described, are stamped with the figures of standing lions.

No. 3. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind.

Size. Round but bulging out on four sides. The horizontal and vertical diameter are $20\frac{1}{24}$ and $21\frac{1}{24}$ of an inch.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. The legend A (Ksha) in Telugu-Kannada appears at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below at the opposite extremity is found the spear with the hook turned towards the proper right. There are three dots on the proper left of the spear. The symbols 'Sri' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The interspaces are filled with pellets, dots or rows of dots, which probably represent a lion.

No. 4. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind.

Size. Roughly round, varying from $19\frac{1}{24}$ to $20\frac{1}{24}$ of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. A star surrounded by a number of dots with the moon which is indicated by a dot within a circle is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity is found the legend 'kshada' or 'Kashapa' in Telugu-Kannada character. The symbols 'Sri' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The interspaces are filled with figures of lions.

No. 5. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind.

Size. Varying from $20\frac{1}{24}$ to $21\frac{1}{24}$ of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55.25 grains.

Description. The legend 'na' inverted in Telugu-Kannada is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity we find the spear with the hook and three dots, as found in No. 3 described above. The symbols 'Sri' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The interspaces are filled with figures of lions.

The several legends noted above are all incomplete and until more coins with sufficiently intelligible legends are forthcoming it is not possible to say what they mean. 'Nnakiti' may probably stand for 'Punyakirti' and from the existing records, we know of no king with such a name. There existed one chola chief *Punyakumara by name who is supposed to have flourished in the 8th century A. D. The coins are similar to the Telugu Chola coins of the Kodur Treasure Trove case and were probably issued by the Telugu Chola Chiefs who were ruling in the Telugu Districts in the 13th century A. D.

* page 344 of Ephigraphia Indica Volume xi noticed in Melapatt plates of Punyakumara.

SOME OLD MARATHA COINS.

Fanams of Rama Raja.

R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR, M. A.

A find of 200 coins was reported in 1908 from the village of Kiltayanur, Tirukkivilur taluk of the South Arcot district, Madras Presidency. They were then acquired for the Museum by the Government of Madras, sixty-five of them were distributed among different Provincial Museums and 134 sold to the general public and Numismatists. These coins were then identified as Kalifanams.

Kali Fanams or as they were sometimes called Kaliyugarajan fanams were current in Kerala or North Malabar in the early centuries of the Christian era. Elliot in his history of South Indian Coins says that there were two kinds of these, one issued by Kolatnad or Chirakkal Raja and later by the Zamorin of Calicut, who to distinguish this issue from the earlier ones called them Pudiya fanams. Both these coins though accepted and used as a medium of exchange in Kerala or north Malabar, were not recognised as legal tender even in the contiguous province of Travancore. So in the early centuries when the means of communication was so small and the country was divided into several principalities each under a separate and independent administration, it is not probable that these coins came to the Eastern districts and were current there. We may fairly conclude that Kali fanams were never accepted or used in places other than Kerala.

Vincent A. Smith in his catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta vol. I has included this as the coinage of the Travancore State and has brought them under gold fanams of the 18th and 19th centuries. In page 316 he has described as follows:—Obverse, A kind of dagger and other marks—Reverse—Characters not read. This coin is figured as item 10 in plate XXX (page 324).

Later in 1918 there was yet another find of 80 similar coin from Kattambatti, a hamlet of the village of Kannalam in the Gingee taluk of the same district. In design, shape, size weight, and the character of the metal used (inferior gold 13 carats fine) these are exactly like those of 1908 find. They are almost all of them varying from 0.2 to 4.22 of an inch in diameter and cupshaped. They are almost of a uniform weight from 5 to 5½ grains. Of these latter 80, 38 have one side blank. All the eighty have on one side a figure formed by lines and dots, with the sun and moon on either side of it. On the reverse side of 42 there is a legend Rama Rau (रामराउ) in Devanagiri script, Rau is apparently intended for Rao.

Rama Rao as the title Rao indicates, is a maratha name and the term Rao is affixed to the name of persons as soldiers, clerks etc. The title is purely a maratha term generally applied to a ruling chief or king. Paleographical evidence clearly shows that these coins were neither Pallava nor Chola ones and we know that they were not of Vijayanagar empire, for these do not resemble any of the Vijayanagar coins that we know in design, shape, weight, or quality of the metal. No viceroy of Vijayanagar appears to have issued coins in his own name. Moreover no viceroy with the name of Rama Raja appears to have ruled over these parts where these coins were found. The genealogy of Gingee chiefs that is available from inscriptions No. 680 and 861 in Appendix B of the Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917 gives the names of several chiefs from Khemu to Ramabhadra Naidu who is said to have ruled in Saka 1593 (A.D. 1671). Twenty chiefs appear to have ruled between Khemu and Ramabhadra Naidu and even allowing 25 years for each chief Khemu the first chief would take us down to 1093 saka or A. D. 1171. Further paleographically the age of these coins has to be put later than the 16th century. It must therefore be concluded that these do not belong to the Vijayanagar period. The Mughals conquered the parts where these coins were found in the latter part of the 17th century only; but we know that the Dutch at Negapatam and the French at Pondichery have issued coins of exactly the same description as the coins of the 1908 find and 1918 find and they were current on the East Coast before the Mughals overthrew the Marathas and assumed sway over all their territories. Having thus eliminated all the other dynasties that ruled over these parts we have only the Maratha period left for fixing the origin of these coins.

Gingee which is very near the two places, from where we had these two finds was during this period a seat of government and was considered a place fit enough for a viceroy to reside and rule. There is no other place near about these villages in the district which was at any time a seat of government. So these must have been issued from the mint at Gingee and we have also on record that Rama Raja, the second son of the famous Sivaji who captured the fortress of Gingee in 1677 had continued to rule here as king and that he had issued a firman to the Hon'ble the East India Company who in 1690 entered into negotiations with Rama Raja, the Maratha King of Gingee for the purchase of a small fort at Devanampatnam, near Cuddalore on the side of the existing Fort St. David, and which both the French and the Dutch had previously endeavoured to buy. The firman runs thus
 '*.....that the sole Government and possession of the same

shall be in the said English Company and their governors and so long as the sun and moon endure to be governed by their own laws and customs both civil, martial, and criminal, and to coin money either under the Royal stamp or such other as they shall judge convenient, both in silver or in gold.....". All this clearly shows that Rama Raja himself had a mint of his own Rama Rau (रामराव) that is referred to by the legend. The fact that some coins do not have any legend may go to show either that Rama Raja himself had copied the design from coins that were current earlier or that he himself issued first without the legend and later on added the legend to impress his own power and importance. In any case there can be no doubt as to the fact that these are of Maratha issue, and that they have no manner of resemblance of relation to Kali fanams as was erroneously supposed. Rama Raja as he was called Rajaram by the Marathas was the second son of Sivaji by Soyerai Bai. When Sivaji died Rajaram was ten years of age. Soyerai Bai wanted to set aside the claims of Sambhaji the first son of Sivaji and to place Rajaram on the throne. She did so but Sambhaji captured by force the fort of Raigurh where Rajaram was, made him a prisoner and ascended the throne in 1680 A. D. Sambhaji continued to rule, but the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb marched to reduce the South of India to his rule and having blotted out Bijapur and Golconda turned his arms against the Marathas. Aurangzeb was gradually encroaching and suddenly captured Sambhaji and put him to death. Then the Marathas unanimously declared Rajaram regent during the minority of Sivaji, the Son of Sambhaji, subsequently known as Sahu. Aurangzeb was pushing on his campaign and was taking fort after fort when Sahu and his mother were taken as captives. Rajaram now thinking that his personal safety was in danger decided to proceed to Gingee which was their stronghold wherefrom he could conduct the administration of his kingdom securely, and that he might not fall into the hands of Aurangzeb. As soon as he reached Gingee Rajaram was formally¹ seated on the throne and he established a court on the plan of his father. The new court began to exercise all the powers of the Government. Gold bangles, cloths, shawls and letters announcing the event were secretly forwarded to all principal Hindus throughout the Maratha kingdom and Inams and jagirs bestowed, by which acts the sympathy of all Marathas was secured. It was from Gingee the whole administration of the Maratha was conducted. Some of the Marathas jealous of the right of the elder branch did not admit that he ever sat on the throne, but they say that he sat on the ²gadee merely as regent holding the powers of the state in trust for

1 James Grant Duff. History of the Maharattas page 371.

2 Do.

Do. page 371 & foot note.

his nephew. Whatever he may be he was virtually ruling the Maratha country and was in power. It was with this king that authorities of the East India Company in Madras negotiated to purchase the fort of Devanampatnam. ¹The firman which he issued to the East India Company was drafted for his signature by the writers of the Company at Madras, and it begins thus: "Whereas we Ramaraja by the Providence of God, king of the Chengie Kindore and territories have at the desire of the Hon'ble Elihu Yale Governor and council of the city and castle of Maddrass.....". Here he is styled as Rama Raja and so it is clear that Rama Raja is no other than Rajaram the second son of Sivaji. In the records of the East India Company he was styled Ramraja.

²Gingee was under the sway of Sivaji and his son Ramraj between 1677 and 1698. In 1698 it fell into the hands of the Moghuls. These coins were therefore issued by Ramraja during the period from 1690 to 1698. These may be called Ramraja fanams as their weight is the same as that of other known fanams of South India.

The lines and dots on the obverse side of the coins may at first sight appear to represent a dagger but from a knowledge of coins generally we know that the dagger is not usually used alone. But it is sometimes used in seals of grants with other emblems of royalty such as the sun and moon to denote eternity. We know also that in ancient times these lines and dots were in some case used conventionally to represent some figure or other. So I think that the lines and dots on the coins now being discussed may represent only the figure of the Raja and this view receives confirmation from the Devanagari legend on the reverse side. ³We learn that coins similar in design were minted by the French at Pondicherry and by the Dutch at Negapatam with their respective bale mark on the reverse. The figure is similar to that found on coins struck at Pondicherry by the Dutch during their occupation of it from 1693 to 1698. It was thought by Colonel Pears to be Rali or Suli of Tanjore. It is also stated that that design was found anterior to 1693 in the coins of Negapatam and the Dutch copied this design from them. He states without quoting any evidence that this design was extant as early as the 2nd century of the Christian era during the period of the Guptas, but from the existing literature on the coins of the Guptas we do not find that any such design on record. Therefore this appears to be a later design but current on the Eastern districts at the beginning of the 17th century and the French the Dutch and the Maharathas have copied it from that earlier design.

1 South Arcot Gazetteer page 41.

2. South Arcot District Gazetteer Page 350 and footnotes under.

3. Ote Maurin Nahuy-Numismatique des Indes Neerlandaises-Part II page

RELATIONS BETWEEN TAMILAKAM & KALINGAM.

By K. R. SUBRAMANYAM, M. A.

One of the meanings of the word Kalingam in Tamil is 'cloth'. Probably, a particular pattern of cloth was imported from Kalinga into the Tamil country in early times and named after the country from which it came. Simhapura, a capital of Kalinga has passed into the Tamil Buddhist Epic of the Anklet as the native place of Kannagi in her former birth. Apart from such stray references which merely show that Kalinga was not unknown, there seems to have been little relationship especially of a political nature between the two countries. The expeditions of the Chola, Pandya and Chera Kings who are said to have cut their emblems on the Himalayas, if there is any truth in the stories, must have passed through Kalingam which lies on one of the accessible routes from the south. This political pilgrimage of the early Tamil Kings came to be imitated by Raja Raja and Rajendra who were destined to bring together Kalingam and Tamilakam. The religion of the Tamil land was affected indirectly by one of the Kalinga princes, Vijaya, who sailed to Ceylon and introduced Buddhism in the island whence it influenced and spread to the mainland.

However much Kalinga was held in contempt as the land of the Vratyas by Baudhayana and his contemporaries, it is undoubted that through it Northern culture has filtered to the South. The art of scooping out caves and temples in rocks and the habit of inscribing seen in the Khandgiri and Udayagiri hills must have been transmitted by Kalinga from the north to the Andhras and the Pallavas, the latter of whom have left us many useful examples of both. The Buddhist and Jaina cultures which flourished in the Tamil land in the early Pallava period, was essentially a Northern culture. If we take stock of the Buddhist and Jain remains in the Madras Presidency, we are irresistably led to conclude that there were religious and cultural bonds between countries as far removed as Kalingam and Malayalam till they were broken by the revival of Vedism and Brahmanism in the Tamil Country in the days of Sambandhar and Appar. (7th Century A. D.) But for the patronage of the Brahmanical Pallava and Chola rulers, the revival would not have been so easy.

It was under the later Cholas that a relationship less durable but more spectacular, came to take place between the two countries. It is vaguely said the Pallavas that after the fall of the Andhras, they extended their power as far as the Mahanadi. Simhavarmā II,

an early Pallava, on his way from Northern conquests probably in imitation of the Tamil Kings, halted at Amaravati and made a statue of Buddha. (S. I. Insc. Vol. I. No. 32.) It is well-known that Vengi was wrested from the Pallavas by the Chalukyas. The founder of the Vengi Chalukyas, Vishnuvardhana has made the Chipurapalle grant. Since he does not seem to have fought with Kalinga, Chipurapalle, on the Kalinga border or of the Kalinga Country, must have been under the Pallavas. So after all, it is possible that Pallava power extended up to the Mahanadi. It may be said here and at once that the Northern Pallava who first ruled mostly over non-tamil lands has been largely responsible for the spreading of the Northern culture in the south. Little thought was bestowed by the Pallavas on their lost possessions in the Andhra and Kalinga countries till the days of Nandivarman Pallava-malla. His General, Udayachendra, defeated Udayana, the Sabāra chief at Nelveli and pursued the Nishadha chief Prithivivagra in the Northern region (Udeyendiram Grant Vol. II. P. 3. S. I. Insc.) This may be taken to mean the extension of the Pallava influence as far as the Mahanadi and Bastar, or there might have been an alliance among the Chalukya, the Sabara and the Nishadha whom the general defeated and pursued a little along the coast.

The Chola Conquest of Kalinga rests on no such uncertain foundations. The history of the later Cholas is a history of continuous expansion. With the accession of Raja Raja, the Great, (985-1013) the builder of the Raja Rajeswara temple at Tanjore, Chola history attains an unequalled brilliance. In several of his inscriptions, the conquest of Kalingam is mentioned among his numerous achievements on land and sea (S. I. Ins. I No. 40 & 66). At first sight, his inscriptions full of distant conquests seem to be mere royal rhodomontade. But the conquest of Kalinga—the Chola policy in the heyday of Chola rule—is impressed upon us by literary as well as epigraphic evidence. This policy was pursued not only because it would add to their empire and prestige, but also it would mean one ally less to the W. Chalukya and the monopoly of the whole Eastern seaboard for commercial and naval purposes. Raja Raja began to cement the newly-won lands with his own by a marriage alliance with the Vengi King. His successors continued Raja Raja's policy in this as well as in other respects thus securing a route for their Northern expeditions and a spy on Kalinga and Kuntala. Rajendra alias "He who took the Ganges" (1013 to 1045) led a triumphant expedition as far as Vengi and sent his general further to conquer the land as far as the Ganges. His Tirumalai inscription (S. I. Insc. Vol. I. No. 67) credits him with the conquests of Odda, Vishaya, Kosala, Dandabukti after defeating Dharmapala, Dakshinalata after defeating Ranasura,

Vengaladesa after defeating Govindachendra, Sangukottam after defeating Mahipala, and lastly Northern Iata and the Ganga. His Tiruvalangadu plates, the most useful for Chola history (Vol. III. P. 3) after speaking of Raja Raja's conquests of Ganga, Kalinga, Vanga, Magadha, Odda, etc., describe Rajendra's exploits as given in the Tirumalai Inscription. These conquests were commemorated by a pillar of victory on the Mahendragiri. These expeditions into the Northern countries besides their political significance have an imperceptible cultural importance. The removal of political barriers meant the more rapid flow of culture to the immense benefit of the North and South.

Virarajendra (1062—70) ended the long drawn out war with the Chalukyas. An inscription of his second year at Tiruvenkadu (Vol. III. P. 2) mentions the defeat of his army at Vengi. The subsequent victory at Kudal-Sangamam set at rest the Chalukyan ambition. An inscription of his fourth year at Karuvur describes his utter defeat of the army sent to Vengi by Vikramaditya. The manimangalam inscription of his fifth year and some other inscriptions of the same date mention his conquest of Vengi. The former adds the conquest of Kalingam and Chakrakottam (Bastor) and the bestowal of Vengi on Vijayaditya VII in preference to the claims of Kulotunga, his nephew, and the future Chola Emperor. Thus, it is clear that the dominion of Rajendra extending as far as Kalinga was kept up by Virarajendra.

Probably, it was after his second expedition to Vengi before his fourth year, that he married his daughter Rajasundari to Raja Raja of Kalinga. It is likely that this was only one of the marriage alliances between the two houses. In his Vizag plate (Saka 1003) Anantavarman Chodaganga (1078—1142) says his father Raja Raja won against the Damilas and married Rajasundari. Probably, there was an alliance among the Kalinga Raja Raja's father, Vijayaditya of Vengi and the W. Chalukya which led to the failure, of Virarajendra's first expedition to Vengi. The victory mentioned against the Damilas in the Vizag plate refers to the part of Raja Raja of Kalinga against this expedition. As a diplomatic stroke after his conquest of Kalinga in his second expedition before his fourth year, Virarajendra must have married his daughter to Raja Raja. Raja Raja is said to have ruled for eight years roughly between 1070 & 1078 and so must have married Rajasundari before he ascended the throne.

In 1070, Virarajendra died and there was confusion in the Chola-*nadu*. Raja Raja of Kalinga helped Vijayalithya who had grown old and was about to sink in the Chola ocean by establishing him in the Western region (i. e., Vengi.) Raja Raja must have also influenced Virarajendra to bestow Vengi on Vijayaditya and the

Chola King had sufficient cause for keeping out Kullottunga, a sure rival of his son to the Chola throne. Raja Raja of Kalinga (c. 1070) might have continued his help to Vijayaditya VII which would have been of little avail but for the domestic troubles of Kullottunga I, who desired to take the earliest opportunity to depose the usurper, his uncle.

During the early year of Kullottunga's rule, Kalinga under Raja Raja and Anantavarman, his son was asserting itself. The Chola Kullottunga—not descending from Virarajendra and belonging to their traditionally inimical house of Vengi—was not liked by the kings of Kalinga who actively aided Vijayaditya to continue in usurpation and afterwards defy Kullottunga as long as he could. Thus the young Anantavarman Chodaganga in his vizag plate S. 1003 (Vol. 18. Ind. Antiq.) making a grant to Rajarajeswara temple gives us the impression that he was strong since he had replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in the east and the waning lord of Vengi in the west. Due to domestic troubles and the more pressing W. Chalukyan attack Kullottunga must have allowed his uncle to continue as usurper and the Kalinga rulers to increase their power.

This was the position then when Kullottunga I ascended the Chola throne. Kalinga was growing independent. Vengi his paternal property, was not his own. In his first expedition to depose his uncle in 1078 (till then he allowed him to rule) he might have invaded Kalinga also. A bigger expedition was sent to Kalinga before his twenty-sixth year which is corroborated by his tamil inscription at Simhachelam dated 1020 Saka.

There is an inscription of his forty-second year at Srinivasanallur mentioning his conquest of Kalinga. Probably, this was the last and the biggest of the expeditions described to us in the Kalingatapurani said to have been composed about 1113 A. D. in praise of the exploits of Karunakara and Kullottunga. Kullottunga was holding his court at Kanchi and all his tributary princes were there to pay him homage. The chief of *North Kalinga* had failed to come twice to pay homage to his overlord. So an expedition was ordered against the seven Kalingas. Karunakara of Vandai was the leader of the expedition. Kalinga was defended by jungles, hills and the sea. Its main strength lay in its hill-forts. The capital was well fortified. The Chola army was however too strong in the bloody field where 1000 elephants died and the Kalinga King fled for refuge. The triumphant Karunakara planted a pillar of victory in Kalinga and returned. (Vol. 19. Ind. Antiq.) This story of Kalingatapurani is said by some to refer to an expedition against North Kalinga and not against Chodaganga a relation of the Chola family. But from what can be inferred

from the vizag plates, his increasing power and his father's and his help to Vijayaditya might have provoked Kullottunga to subdue him. His first and second expeditions not proving effective, he might have sent another under the willing and heroic Karunakara. Besides, Chodaganga was not so closely related to Kullottunga as he was to Adhirajendra. The reference to North Kalinga is misleading. Popularly and historically for a long time, Kalinga extended upto the Godavari and since Vengi rule then extended upto—say roughly—modern Vizag. South Kalinga was considered to be under E. Chalukyan rule. "The Seven Kalingas" to subdue which the expedition is said to have been sent is only an exaggerated phrase for Kalinga under Chodaganga.

Thus was Kalinga subdued for the last time. Vikramachola is said to have defeated Kalinga and the Vicereignty of Vengi was in fact for some time an effective check on Kalinga independence. (S. I. Ins. 111. P. 184.) When the Chola family ceased to produce great Kings, the Empire began to crumble. In the Vikramacholanula (Ind. Antiq. Vol. 22.) one Kalingar-Kon is said to have been present in Vikramachola's court. Probably the reference is not to the King of Kalinga but to a general who had won the title from the king for his part in the Kalinga expedition. With the decline of the Chola power due to a variety of causes, the power of the Eastern Gangas increased.

The extensive conquests of the Chola Emperors speak highly of their personal prowess, the efficiency of their armies and the settled and peaceful nature of the people of their home dominions. The political and military importance to the Chola Empire of Vengi and Kalinga won over by war and marriage at a time when it was threatened by its greatest foe cannot be overrated. But there is an inseparable and pardonable element of vanity in the object of these expeditions. The contagion to go as far as the Ganges caught even Anantavarman who boasts of such a political pilgrimage. (See his Puri and Kendupatna plates.) Would he not have imitated the Cholas in other respects also?

The Empires in the Indian History were rarely centralised. The Chola Empire over Kalinga never meant any control over the administration of Kalinga. It meant nothing more than a recognition of Chola suzerainty and a small tribute. The internal administration was untouched. In fact, even the internal administration of the Kalinga Raja did not touch the people at many points. The still waters of Kalinga local administration were not stirred even by the Kalinga Raja. That has been the almost universal feature in Indian History. The people are little governed and their peaceful life is unconcerned with the shifting of political boundaries. So, the Chola

Empire over Kalinga was twice blessed and was different totally from the present day octopus type of Empire.

The Gangas of Kalinga were devotees of Maheswara and their influence and patronage of Hinduism must have led to the decline of the anti-vedic faiths. The influence and example of the Chola rulers must have also been for the acceleration of the Brahmanical revival. We know of only one temple Rajarajeswara which clearly shows the influence of its Chola prototype. But there must have been many more of that type. The building of temples like the Cholas and the naming of kings as Raja Raja and Chada Ganga must mean little if they had been unaccompanied by the Chola style of architecture and the Chola example in religion and culture.

The pillars of Chola triumph have been forgotten. The temples in imitation of Rajarajeswara have gone to untraceable ruins like their predecessors, the Buddhist chaityas. The very site of Kalinganagara probably embellished with temples like Tanjore and Gangaikondapuram is in dispute. And its Chola queens like Rajasundari who once shed the lustre of the Chola civilisation in the Ganga palace have vanished like sweet scent in the air. But the episode of Chola suzerainty for more than a century and the consequent contact with Chola civilisation have become a permanent and inseparable though not easily perceivable thread in the web of Kalinga civilisation. I am sure that later re-searches will bring into fuller light the mutually beneficent effects of the contact of the Chola civilisation of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KULOTTUNGA¹

By CHILUKURI VEERABHADRA RAO GARU
RAJAHMUNDRY.

The emperor *Kulottunga* who, for fifty years, ruled with justice and valour over the Chalukya-Choda empire (which included the eastern portions of the Andhra and the Dravida countries) was a scion of the Chalukya and not the Chola race. The name given to him by his parents was *Rajendra Choda*. His kinsmen the western Chalukyas used to call him *Rajiga*. At that time the Andhra country was divided into two parts, the eastern and the western. The eastern part called Vēngi was ruled by the eastern Chalukyas and the western part was ruled by the western Chalukyas. For five centuries Kulottunga's ancestors had been ruling over Vēngi. His father was *Rajarajanarendra*, to whom was dedicated the Andhramahabharatham. His mother *Ammanga devi* was the daughter of *Gangaikonda Rajendra Choda*. *Rajaraja* was the king of Vēngi from 1022-1063 A. D., and after a glorious reign he died at Rajamahendrapuram the capital of the kingdom. The royal couple had only two issues: a son *Rajendra Choda* and a daughter *Kundava*. *Vimaladitya*, the father of *Rajaraja* had two wives *Kundava devi* and *Medama devi*. *Rajaraja* was the son of *Kundava* and *Vijaditya* the son of *Medama*. *Vijayaditya* had a son *Saktivarma* by name. After the death of *Rajarajanarendra*, his only son *Rajendra Choda* ought to have succeeded to the throne of Vēngi. It happened, however, that *Vijayaditya*, *Rajaraja*'s step-brother ascended the throne while *Rajendra* became the king of the Cholas in 1070 A. D. after *Vijayaditya*'s death. *Rajendra Choda* subjugated the Vēngi kingdom and appointed his son as the vice-roy. Then it was that *Rajendra* came to be called by his new name *Kulottunga*. And as he was the emperor of the Chola and the Vēngi kingdoms for half a century it has come about that he is known to history by his titular name and not by his real one.

From the three facts that the word Choda is affixed to his name, that his mother and his paternal grand-mother were Choda princesses, and that many of his inscriptions are in tamil, we may infer that by the time *Rajendra* ascended the throne of the Chola kingdom the Aditya Choda dynasty (under whose regime the ancient Chola kingdom which flourished at one time with Uraiyur for its

1. Translated from the original telugu paper read before the annual general meeting of the Society.

capital once again raised its head, was either extinct, (having perished with Adhirajendra) or its survivors were banished from the country. It was for this reason that the late Dr. Hultzsch (who procured from the Govt. a number of inscriptions pertaining to the Chola and the Eastern Chalukya Emperors and published the facsimiles in his *South Indian Inscriptions*) and the late Rao Bahadur V. Venkiah who succeeded to his place thought fit to censure Kulottunga as a forcible usurper of the Chola throne to which he, as a Chalukya had no right whatsoever. This position was controverted by scholars like Kanakasabha Pillai who held that Kulottunga was lawfully entitled to the throne having been adopted by his maternal grand-father Gangaikonda Rajendra Chola, a theory based on the statement of Kulottunga's state-poet, Jayam-gondar in his dedication to the king of his Tamil classic *Kalingattupparani*. It is not my intention in this essay to criticise the many irrelevancies and inconsistencies that have found place in the controversy which has raged round this point. There are, however, three important questions to consider which are as follows:—

1. After the death of Rajarajanarendra in 1063 A.D., who ascended the Vengi throne? His step-brother Vijayaditya or his son Rajendra Choda?

2. Is it true that Rajarajanarendra gave his only son in adoption to his maternal uncle and father-in-law?

3. What was the nature of Rajendra's claim to the Chola throne? We have to find proper answers for these questions after a careful perusal of the various inscriptions and also the literature available on the subject.

Let us first consider the question of adoption. The Tamil book in which this is mentioned is *Kalingattupparani*. The book is said to have been written by Jayam-gondar, reputed to be the court-poet of Kulottunga Choda and Vikrama Choda. It describes the victorious march of Karunākara tondaimān, a Pallava king, and Kulottunga's Chief Minister, to Kalinga. The book is divided into 13 parts ('kandas 13') and contains 593 stanzas. The late Mr. Kanakasabha Pillai has published brief summaries of the thirteen 'kandas' in the *Indian Antiquary*². In the tenth 'kānda' it is stated that Rajarajanarendra was a member of both the Surya and the Chandra dynasties, and that Vishnu entering the womb of Ammanga Devi took shape upon the earth as Kulottunga, and that as soon as he was born Gangaikonda Chola's wife (Ammanga's mother) took him up in her arms saying that the child was in every respect fit to be her own son and that he would bring glory to both the Surya and the Chandra *vamsās*. From this narration of the poet and from a statement made by him that

2. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 19. (1890)

Gangaikonda Chola was Kulottunga's father, Mr. Kanaka sabha Pillai inferred that Kulottunga was Gangai konda Choda's adopted son and that he had every right to succeed him as king. Mr. Kanakasabha Pillai further states that the Vengi kingdom was in subjection to the Chola throne, and that as Kulottunga conquered North Kalinga and Cuttack these also became dependents of the Chola Empire. I do not propose to take very seriously these opinions, vitiated as they are by a want of proper material on the one hand and on the other by a want of sufficient disinterestedness in conducting the investigation of that material. But if I thus dispose of the opinions of Mr. Kanakasabha Pillai I have still to count with a learned and esteemed scholar who has made a special study of the subject and who lets no opportunity go by, without bringing in a reference to his favourite theme, the Chola dynasty. I refer to Dr. S. Krishna swami Aiyangar whose writings, I may truly say, I have been following with the minutest care and the greatest interest ever since the publication of the First Volume of my History of the Andhras in 1910, The following passage occurs in his Ancient India at page 125.

"The '*Kalingattupparani*' records that the wife of Gangaikonda Chola took up the dear child when it was born and from the signs upon its feet predicted its uplifting both the families in fame. Probably this was nothing more than the pious grandmotherly wish for the advancement of her grandson. It is very probable that the child was brought up in the grandfather's house with all the paraphernalia of interest surrounding the young prince."

On page 129 we find the following, which I confess, is not absolutely clear to me.

"It has already been pointed out that he was the grandson of the Gangai konda Chola and that it was probable that he was brought up in his grandfather's house whether he was actually adopted by him or not. There was, in fact, no reason for the adoption as the grandfather appears to have had a number of sons who were (at least one of them was) associated as lieutenants of the Great Conquering Chola."

But that the above is by no means the author's final say on the matter and that his thoughts are urging in another direction is proved by the following sentences from the same book.

"One would naturally expect this Rajendra to succeed his father when he died in 1061-62 or the next year. In all the transactions about the appointment of Vijayaditya VII as Viceroy of Vengi, we do not hear of the name of Kulottunga and this would suggest that this young ambitious prince did not regard it as a matter of much moment to him whether he was Viceroy or not. His ambition was imperial and

not viceregal and thus resembling his great contemporary Vikramaditya VI who for many years held practically the whole of the southern half of his father's brother's empire."

Further, he says that Kulottunga himself mentions that he caught elephants in Vâyirāgaram and occupied the fort of Sakkarakottam as *Yuvarāja* and that this shows that he must have been the Yuvaraja of either Rajaraja or his mother's father or mother's brother. He argues that if Kulottunga had been in Vengi for such a long time it would never happen that Vijayaditya should have succeeded Rajaraja or that he would have caught elephants in the distant Vâyirāgaram. He continues, that, although the inscription on the Pittapuram pillar and other copper plate grants show that he was anointed and crowned we do not find any inscriptions of Kulottunga before 1070 A. D., and it nowhere appears that he had occupied the throne of Vengi at any time and that he was deposed therefrom by Vijayaditya. Nevertheless he concludes that he caught elephants in Vâyirāgaram and captured Sakkarakottam and must have been the Yuvaraja of Virarajendra I or his maternal grandfather Rajendra Chola I. The learned Professor, continuing says that Kulottunga won laurels in the army of Rajendra I, and adds "This would also satisfactorily account for the idea of the Pandita Choda (Rajendra, the Gangai konda Choda) having been his father in Kalingattuparani."

Although Mr. Aiyangar does not conscientiously believe in the adoption theory he would like to substantiate it by any reasons. In an article written by him for the *Rajarajamarendra Pattabhisheka Sanchika* published by this Historical Research Society under the caption "Chodas and the Eastern Chalukyas" the writer's pen, very slow to describe the events immediately following the death of Rajaraja, runs very fast when it comes to try to establish by any means that even from the time of Saktivarma I, the Eastern Chalukyan rulers of Vengi, including Vimaladitya must have been tributary kings of the Chola Empire. Is it because that Rajaraja and Gangai konda Rajendra whose renown and glory as Chola kings he is never tired of repeating have given their daughters, Kundava and Ammanga Devi to the Eastern Chalukyan kings, Vimaladitya and Rajaraja respectively that Mr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar believes that these kings were paying tribute to the Cholas? Saktivarma I is never described as a king paying tribute to Rajaraja I in any inscription. Nor is this all. In one of his inscriptions³ it appears that he defeated Padyamadhira Maharaja and killed one Choda Bhima and that as a boy he fought

with the Cholas. In another inscription ⁴ it appears that in his youth he killed many elephants of the enemy in the war with the Tamils and that he killed a general sent by the Chola Emperor Bhima and that he uprooted the Tree of Jata Choda. The Jata Choda mentioned in this inscription is no other than the son of Rajendra Chola called Jatavarma Sundara Chola Pandya. Rajendra Chola added the title Sundara Pandya to his son after the conquest of Pandyas by him and after his appointment as viceroy, to show that he was the king of the Pandyas. We do not know when he conquered the Pandya kingdom but the view of the historians seems to be that it was before 1016 A. D. So writes the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao. ⁵

Is it possible to believe that Rajaraja Chola could have presented the throne of Vengi to this Saktivarma I? Further, it was after Saktivarma ruled till 1015 A.D. (for 12 years) and died that Vimaladitya who married the sister of Gangai konda Chola ascended the throne, according to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. This statement is hardly correct. For it is mentioned in the Ranasthapundi inscription ⁶ that in the Saka year 933 on the sixth day of Vrishabha māsa in the asterism Pushyami when Leo was in the ascendant Vimaladitya was crowned. This corresponds to 1011 A. D. His marriage must have taken place earlier as we find that in 1014 Vimaladitya gave a money grant to Panchanādaswami of Tiruvaiyur near Tanjore and this must have been after his marriage with Kundava. Many of the learned Doctor's opinions about the Eastern Chalukyas are baseless and erroneous. The adoption of Kulottunga by Gangai konda Chola is a figment of the imagination invented for political purposes and it could not be true in the face of recorded history. Gangai konda Chola had three sons, Rajadhiraja, Rajendra and Virarajendra and a daughter Ammangadevi ⁷. This is the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch

4. Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Vol. II page 406.

बाल्येकीर्तिरलाथि चौळिकरणे येनब्रह्मोद्वासिना
येनात्युद्धत बद्यमाधिपमहराजादयाविद्वुताः।
रावणप्रतिनिधिश्चालुक्यनारायणो
नापास्तद्विषतापि येननिघनंश्रीचोडभीमाधिपः॥

5. Ugadi Sanchika (Andhra Patrika 1921-22) page 77 Arumbakam inscription.

6. Epi. Ind. Vol. 6 p. 347.

अनलानलरन्ध्रगते शकवर्षे वृषभमासे सितपद्मे
यषष्ठ्यां गुरु पुष्ये सिंहेलमे प्रसिद्धमभिषिक्तः॥

7. S. I. I. Vol. III p. 2 196.

and this has been accepted by the learned Doctor himself. Could it be believed for a moment that Gangai konda then could have adopted his daughter's son when three of his sons were alive? Could it be said that he would have given his son's daughter in marriage to his adopted son? Is such a marriage sanctioned by the Hindu law or custom?

Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar M. A., Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras read a paper "New light on Kulottunga" before the Oriental Conference at Madras and a summary appears in the proceedings published. He writes therein. "It is clear from *Kalingattupparani* and the inscriptions of Kulottunga that he was adopted into the Chola family and was nominated Yuvaraja by his paternal uncle Virarajendra to the Chola dominion as early as 1063." Mr. Iyer does not stop with this but quotes further. "The statement of adoption" Dr. Hultzsch tells, "was invented by Jayamgondar the court poet and panegyrist to give *Locus standi* to Kulottunga, a usurper....." So the statement of adoption cannot be lightly brushed aside or explained as a mere political invention in as much as it was unnecessary for purposes of succession. Without quoting Dr. Hultzsch fully, Mr. Iyer proceeds to attack the statement. The sentence he omitted is this. "If it is granted that Veerarajendra I was the son of Rajendra Choda it would follow that the story of adoption of Kulottunga by the latter is a pure invention, which was started for political reasons in order to give an apparent *locus standi* to the usurper."

Is this how the new light is shed? The writer does not seem to understand the legal or religious significance of the rite of adoption. Kulottunga did not succeed Gangaikonda Rajendra Chola to the throne. He was crowned after Rajadhiraja, Rajendra, his son Rajamahendra, Virarajendra and his son Adhirajendra had ruled and died. Is all this the love shown towards the adopted son by the Chola Emperor Gangai konda?

Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar refers to the Chelluru grant of Virachoda in his essay. How does it happen that Virachoda gives a description of the Chalukya line and mentions his father and himself as belonging to that line and does not even mention the Choda line? I venture to ask if the titles *Mahârâjâdhirâjaparamesvara*, *Paramamahesvara*, *Paramabattaraka*, *Paramabrahmanya* are Choda or Chalukya in origin. The writer of the article is treading very slippery ground. If Gangaikonda had adopted Kulottunga, would he try to conceal the adoption and describe himself as a Chalukya even during the time of Gangaikonda? Would the father accept it without demur? Even in the Teki grant, Rajaraja Choda Ganga does not speak of the adoption. It must be clear therefore from this that Kulottunga, his son and successors are Chalukyas and not Cholas. I believe that the Chelluru grant is entitled to the greatest weight.

Mr. L. Sreenivasa Iyer in an essay "Kulottunga I, his claims to the Chola throne" which appears in the Hindu Educational Supplement⁸ suggests that Rajadhiraja, Rajendra, and Rajendra Choda are not the sons of Gangaikonda, that in the Manimangalam inscription Rajendra says that Gangaikonda is his uncle and that in the Cape Comorin grant Veerarajendra says that they are his younger brothers and that the fact which states about the adoption of Kulottunga by Gangaikonda is probable. Even this view is open to the objection mentioned above that it would not be possible to effect a marriage between Rajendra's daughter and his own first cousin. I am not aware of any custom or law obtaining among brahmins or Kshatriyas or any respectable Hindus which sanctions this incestuous connection. I am sure there is nothing among Andhras and I dare say that there no such custom in the ancient Hindu community. If the learned Professor is aware of any such custom I will be very grateful if he can show it to me. It is regrettable that such a great pandit should descend to advocating fanciful theories to support the misconceived greatness of the Chola race.

The following appears in the Chelluru grant of Vira Choda.⁹ "Having at first occupied the throne of Vengi which became the cause of rising of his splendour just as the sun at morn occupies the eastern mountain he conquered all quarters with his power." This one unambiguous statement of Veera Choda, the son of Kulottunga effectively answers the issue raised by Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar in his book on Ancient India. Besides, Kulottunga says to his eldest son, "Being desirous of the Chola kingdom I formerly conferred the kingdom of Vengi on my paternal uncle Vijayaditya."¹⁰ King Vijayaditya ruled Vengi for fifteen years¹¹. Then Kulottunga requested Rajaraja to take the reins of government in Vengi and as the Kingdom did not give him the satisfaction which he found in learning about the other world at the feet of the master, he ruled for one year

8. The Hindu, Dated March 23, 1927.

9. S. I.I., Vol. III. Part I. p. 59.

भसामुन्नतिहेतुं प्रथमं वेङ्गीश्वरत्वमध्यास्या यस्तेजसादिगताक्रमदुदयं सहस्ररश्मिरिव।
उद्यच्चण्डतरप्रतापदहनलपुष्टारिवलद्वेषिणा सर्वान् केरलपागड्यकुंतलमुखान्क्रमात् ॥
अज्ञामैलपुसूतां भयरुजाचित्तेषुदुर्म्भेधसांकीर्त्तिर्दिक्षु ।
सुधांशुधामाधवला येनार्धितोज्जुंभते ॥

10. मया वेङ्गीमहीराज्यं चोडराज्याभिलाषिणां मत्पितृव्ये पुरान्यस्तंविजयादित्यभूभुजे ॥

11. स च पञ्चादशाब्दानि पञ्चाननपराक्रमः । महीरक्षान्महीनाथोरिवं देवोपमोगतः ॥

only and returned to his father and mother. Then Kulottunga appointed Vira Choda as his viceroy in Vengi and the latter consented reluctantly. A verse in the grant describes the parting scene thus. "Having received the blessings of his father and mother and his two elder brothers and after receiving the respects of his two younger brothers, the king started for his native home."¹² Evidently Kulottunga, his queen, and their sons looked upon Vengi as their native home and the Choda country as the home of their adoption. Vira Choda ascended the throne in Saka 1001 on the 13th day of *sukla paksha*, thursday in the asterism *Sravana* when the *Scorpio* was in the ascendant and that corresponds to 23rd August, 1078 A. D. Thus far about the adoption of Kulottunga.

The second point I now discuss is as to who succeeded to the throne of Vengi after Rajaraja's death. We have already seen from the inscriptions of Vira Choda that Rajendra Choda (Kulottunga) handed over the dominion of Vengi to his father's step-brother Vijayaditya and that he ruled over Vengi for fifteen years. It is clear from this record that there was no enmity between Vijayaditya and Kulottunga. Nor is this all. It also shows that on the other hand, Rajendra Choda had a great respect for his uncle Vijayaditya. There are, however, some circumstances which throw a doubt on this. Recently two inscriptions of Vijayaditya VII¹⁵ and one inscription of his son Saktivarman II have been discovered. The inscriptions of Vijayaditya VII belong to his 12th regnal year. The plates are now preserved in the Museum at Madras. In those plates Vijayaditya says that after Rajaraja's death he won the kingdom of Vengi by his valour.¹³ He also says that on account of his affection towards his son Saktivarman he gave the kingdom to him and that he died after a short reign of a single year.¹⁴ He bewails the bereavement comparing the loss to that of Arjuna after the early death of Abhimanyu. He goes on to say that on account of the promptings of his friends he consented to take up the reins of government once more.

The date of this grant is 1075 A. D. Even in the Inscription of Saktivarman it appears as if Vijayaditya got forcible possession of Vengi. From the inscription of Saktivarman it is clear that he ruled in the year 1064 A. D. But in these inscriptions there is no mention of

12. इत्याशिषं समधिगम्य नृपादवध्ययां देव्यास्तयाग्रज नृपद्वितयत्क्रमेण ।
अनन्यतामवनतोवरजैः कुमारस्तुष्टः स्वदेशगमनाय स तैः कथंचित् ॥

13. Ep. Rep. South India for 1925 p. 77.

14. Ep. Report for 1913-14 page 57.

परोक्षे राजराजस्यभ्रातुर्द्वैमातुरस्य यः सविग्रहीन्महाश्रियं विरश्रीयायुतः ।

15. Ibid, and also see C. P. No. 8 & 9 of 1925.

anything to show that they drove Rajendra Choda from Vengi to get possession of it nor at least that they did it with the help of any one else. It cannot be seen why there was any necessity to take forcible possession and from whom. In his inscriptions belonging to the 5th and the 7th regnal years, Virarajendra I who ruled the Choda kingdom says that he conquered Vengi and made a gift of it to Vijayaditya. In his Perumbër grant he says that he saw the back of Ahavamalla five times when he fled from the battlefield, and that by reconquering Vengi he fulfilled the long cherished desire of his elder brother and gave the kingdom to Vijayaditya on his abject craving by falling on his feet. In another inscription Virarajendra writes: "We do not propose to return without regaining the kingdom of Vengi which we have lost. Come ye who have any strength in them. Save the land if you can".

Anantavarma Choda Ganga in his Korniplates¹⁶ says that his father, Rajaraja defeated the Chodas and married Rajasundari, the daughter of the Choda king, Rajendra Choda, and that Rajaraja on account of the tenderness of his heart saved the Vengi kingdom from the cruelties of the Chodas who beset the country after Vijayaditya left the kingdom like the setting sun, and made the country prosperous. It is no doubt hard to reconcile these many conflicting statements. It admits of no doubt however that after the death of Rajarajanarendra the country was rent by factions and there was a great war for the sovereignty. This is evidenced by the inscriptions¹⁷ in which the local chieftains took vows to support one candidate against another.

"This is the vow Rajadhiraja makes to Sri Parantaka, Kônëri-meyingondâr, Sarvalokasraya, Sri Vishnuvardhana Maharaja; I serve Parantaka, myself and my descendants, and I do not serve another. If others dare rule us he will render his wife to us. If I serve

16. Supra. page, 118.

स राजराजः प्रयमं जयश्रियःपतिर्भूव द्रविलाहवोत्सवे ।

वीराजमाना मथराजसुन्दरी मुदूढवान्श्चोड महीभुजातत्सजाम् ॥

त्यक्त्वा वैर्गिसपदि पारिणामोद येद्यामि वान्याम् ।

चोडव्याजे सहति विजयादित्य मब्धौ मिमंनुं ॥

अपन्नानां पश्मशरणां राजाराजो विचित्रं ।

लक्ष्मीभाजं सुचिरमकरोत्याश्चिमायांदिशायां ॥

17. S. I. I. Vol. IV. Nos. 1269-1275.

another, our wives are his. This I consecrate in the presence of the lord Bhimeswara. Written at Dakaremi by Virarajendra Chodachari."

Similar vows made by Oddavādi Chōḍaya, Virangottana Chōḍana, Virangottamuna Sooraya, Janturunati Soorana, Rāparthi Bēthaya. Sarudunānti Veera Chōḍundu were recorded in the Bhimesvara Svamin's Temple at Daksharama.¹⁸

Curiously enough none of the above records are dated. They mention a king who bears the titles belonging both to the Eastern Chalukya and the Cholas dynasties, and it is to him that the chieftains swore unswerving allegiance. It is a well known fact that *birudas*, *Sarvalōkāsraya* and *Vishnuvardhana* belonged exclusively to the Eastern Chalukya dynasty while titles like *Kōṇērimeingondār* and *Parāntaka dēvara* were borne only by the Cholas. It is therefore clear that the king referred to in these records must be one who was connected with the Eastern Chalukyas and Cholas as well very closely, and therefore entitled to them. So far as we know, the only king who bore both the Eastern Chalukya and Chola *birudas* is Kulottunga alias Prince Rājendra Chōḍa, son of Rajarajanarendra of the Eastern Chalukyan family. Neither Rajarajanarendra nor his step brother nor Saktivarman II, are ever known to have borne the Chola titles. Similarly none of the Chola kings prior to Kulottunga bore any Chalukyan titles. Again the scribe of the inscriptions is one Rājendra chōḍa āchāri. He also signed his name as Vira Rājendra-chōḍa āchāri in one or two places. Rajendra Chōḍa is the original name of Kulottunga when he was a *Yuvaraja* to his father. The scribe evidently bore the same name as that of liege-lord in order to show his loyalty and devotion. Besides he appears to have been the favourite and the principal scribe of the king, for almost every one of the grants made during the reign of Kulottunga was engraved by him. Rajendra chōḍa āchāri therefore, could not have been a servant of Vira Rajendra.

These inscriptions indicate the existence of a very powerful enemy who was always ready to destroy Kulottunga and his power, but his name is not mentioned. Now, it will be worth our while to enquire as to who was the enemy of Kulottunga, and what was the occasion that necessitated the taking of such terrible vows of allegiance to Kulottunga at the feet of Lord Bhimeswara of Dākshārāma.

In the Chellur grant of Virachōḍa, Kulottunga is said to have referred to his paternal uncle Vijayaditya VII as a "god-like prince who resembled the five-faced (Siva) in power". In the face of this statement it is impossible to believe that Kulottunga had cherished enmity or ill-feeling towards his paternal uncle at any time. It is

18. Ibid.

equally impossible to believe also that Vijayaditya drove out his nephew Prince Rajendra Choda, with his family from Vengi, unjustly and cruelly and took forcible possession of the kingdom from him. Certainly, if this were true, Kulottunga would not have referred to his paternal uncle in such endearing and respectful terms, fifteen years later, at the time of appointing Prince Vira chōda to the Viceroyalty of Vengi. There is yet another passage in the same inscription which lends support to this view. Kulottunga is stated to have said to his son, that he (Kulottunga) being desirous of the Chōla Kingdom had formerly conferred the Kingdom of the country of Vengi on his paternal uncle King Vijāyāditya and that he ruled for fifteen years; and after him his (Kulottunga's) eldest son, Rājarāja (II) took up the burden of the kingdom of Vengi and ruled only for one year." Now this passage takes us a little further. It says that after Vijayaditya's reign, Kulottunga immediately and even peacefully appointed his eldest son Rajaraja to the viceroyalty of Vengi in the usual course of events and that his suzerainty over his patrimony was continuous and undisturbed. The fact that Kulottunga is said to have conferred the Kingdom of Vengi upon his paternal uncle, Vijayaditya, "being desirous of the Chola Kingdom," is therefore very significant, and leaves no room to suspect ill-feelings between the nephew and his paternal uncle.

Then, who could this enemy be? It is certain that Western Chalukyas were not the enemies indicated, as we will presently see. The enemy was, beyond doubt the Chola Emperor, Virarajendra I. Virarajendra had an eye upon Vengi for more than one reason. He was anxious to extend his power and influence and add Vengi to his dominions, in order to strengthen the position of the Chola kingdom and to check the growing power of the Western Chalukyas. Vengi had for three generations, been the bone of contention between the Western Chalukyas on the one hand and the Chola Emperors on the other. Vengi was necessary to either party as a buffer state. We know from the records of Virarajendra that he had invaded Vengi for a number of times for the purpose of occupying it and that his campaigns were not always successful. And in these wars, Kulottunga, with the help of the Western Chalukyas, and the Eastern Gangas might have repelled the enemy's attack and kept up the integrity of the Vengi kingdom.

It is therefore possible to fix the date of the inscriptions recording the vows of the local chieftains of Dāksharāma, at some time during this period i. e. in the reign of Virarajendra 1063-1070 A. D. when the latter was seemingly successful in the wrangle for the overlordship of Vengi, with the Western Chalukyas. Dr. Aiyangar and scholars of his school of thought, can therefore be said to have erred

in setting up some fanciful theory of enmity between Kulottunga and his paternal uncle Vijayaditya VII by making the former, the Yuvaraja of Virarajendra I, ignoring the most important historical document, viz., the Chellur Grant of Vira Choda. At all events, the statement of Virarajendra I that he gave away Vengi kingdom to Vijayaditya VII on his abject craving for it by falling at his feet as recorded in his Perumbêr grant, is only a boast for, Virarajendra does not appear to have held Vengi for any period continuously.

Let us now examine in greater detail one after another these fanciful theories of our Scholars and see how far they are justifiable. Thus writes Dr. Aiyangar, in his *Ancient India*,¹⁹ "The Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja, the son-in-law of Gangaikonda Chola died, and had at least a son Rajendra better known as Kulottunga, and a daughter Kundavai, but we see that the Vengi country passes into the possession of Vijayaditya, an uncle of Kulottunga through the good offices of Virarajendra I. This disputed succession ought to have brought Vikramaditya upon the scene. But Virarajendra was nevertheless victorious at last and placed his nominee Vijayaditya of the Eastern Chalukya family upon the throne after a battle at Visayavadi (Bezгада)." But further below²⁰ the learned professor writes in an assertive tone, that "the earlier inscriptions of Kulottunga state that as Yuvaraja to Virarajendra I and Rajendra Chola he accomplished two great feats, (1) the capture of elephants at Vâirâgaram and (2) the capture of the fortress of Chakkarakottam." And then he waively adds that "Kulottunga may have been Yuvaraja to his father, the Eastern Chalukya King Rajaraja I or his grand-father, or his uncles."

If Kulottunga was *Yuvaraja* to his uncle Virarajendra, the Chola king, what was the cause of the disputed succession in the Vengi country for the throne, and who were the rival claimants? Even according to Dr. Aiyangar, it is not clear whose cause was taken up by Vikramaditya in the war of disputed succession in Vengi. Kulottunga, the only rightful claimant to it was *Yuvaraja* to Virarajendra, and his possible rival and paternal uncle, Vijayaditya VII, was the nominee of the self same Chola emperor! Dr. Aiyangar has evidently confused the facts. If Kulottunga had really been the *Yuvaraja* of Virarajendra, one fails to understand what the disputed succession in Vengi was about on the one hand, and why the nomination of Vijayaditya VII, had to be made in preference to the rightful heir Kulottunga, who is his own nephew on the other. That Vijayaditya was appointed to the kingdom of Vengi by Virarajendra, appears to be impossible and incredible. And that he was never friendly with the

Cholas is clearly proved by undisputed facts. Vijayaditya was governing Nolambavadi Vishaya, 32,000 as a vassal of the Western Chalukya king Trailokyamalla Someswara I, better known as Ahavamalla, the bitterest foe of Virarajendra, at the time of which we are speaking. In an inscription of *Dandanayaka Sandhivigraha*, Devapayya, a minister of Vijayaditya, dated Saka 988 (1066 A. D.), the donor speaks of Vijayaditya as "the worshipper at the lotus feet of Trailokya malladeva."²¹ It is therefore obvious that Virarajendra could not have appointed a vassal of his enemy Ahavamalla, to the viceroyalty of Vengi, especially at a time when he was most anxious to fulfill "the desire of his deceased brother to reconquer the kingdom of Vengi".

There is yet one piece of evidence more that has come to light recently, which exposes the untenability of Dr. Aiyangar's view. I mean the events recorded in the Korni plates²² of Anantavarma Choda Ganga regarding his father Rajaraja. The passage in the inscription reads thus. "When Vijayaditya grew old like the setting sun, and left Vengi which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the *Cholas*, Râjarâja, the refuge of the distressed caused him to enjoy the prosperity for a long time in the western region itself." Who could be the Cholas referred to here that caused troubles to Vijayaditya? Kulottunga had no army at that time and did not figure anywhere independently; and he was not also a Chola either. Further, it is impossible to believe that Kulottunga gave troubles to his paternal uncle after having freely and willingly conferred Vengi upon him. The Chola referred to, therefore, must be Virarajendra I. If Vijayaditya had really been installed on the throne of Vengi as boasted by Virarajendra himself in his Perumbêr grant and as believed by Dr. Aiyangar to be true, what then was the necessity for the Eastern Ganga king Râjarâja to have gone to the rescue of Vijayaditya against the Cholas? It is therefore abundantly clear, that Dr. Aiyangar and his school of thought have erred in assuming that Vijayaditya was conferred the viceroyalty of Vengi at the hands of Virarajendra.

It is believed by Dr. Aiyangar, that Virarajendra had invaded Vengi, a number of times, sometimes year after year, after the death of Rajarajanarendra. What was then the necessity or the occasion for these continuous wars against Vengi if Vijayaditya had really been his own nominee on the Vengi throne? If Vijayaditya was not the enemy, then, against whom was he fighting? As has been already pointed out above Dr. Aiyangar does not give the name of Vengi

21. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1925 p.75; Ep. No. 322 of 1925.

22. See supra page 123, lines 80—91.

prince who set up a rival claim and brought about a war of disputed succession. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that Vijayaditya became lord of Vengi, through the favour of his nephew Kulottunga.²³ It is therefore certain that Kulottunga could not have been Yuvaraja to his maternal uncle Virarajendra I; and much less possible for Vijayaditya to be a protege of the Chola king.

On the other hand, Prof. Venkatarama Aiyer,²⁴ while admitting that Kulottunga had conferred his patrimony of Vengi on his paternal uncle and appointed him as his deputy in Vengi, argues that he did so only, in order to be appointed as Yuvaraja to Virarajendra I in 1063 A. D., and to share the burdens of the Chola throne as he was sure of succeeding to it in due course. This is indeed in controvention of Vira Choda's statement in the Chellur grant, which runs as follows: "(He) having at first occupied the throne of Vengi which became the cause of his rising and of his splendour just as the sun at the morn occupies the eastern mountain he conquered all quarters with his power having burnt all foes with the rising and fierce fire of his valour and having successively conquered Kerala, Pandya, Kuntala and all other countries, he was annointed to the Chola kingdom."

From the foregoing passage it is clear that Kulottunga was *desirous* of Chola throne rather than rest contented with the title of a Yuvaraja or with the prospect of succeeding to the Chola throne *in due course*.

Now to the third point. It has been stated in the Manimangalam inscription²⁵ of Rajendradeva, that Gangaikonda Chola was his father's younger brother and not *father*. From this Mr. L. Srinivasa Aiyar of Kumbakonam argues that Rājādhirāja, Rājēndradēva and Virarajendra I, were not the sons of Gangaikonda Chola but only nephews and that Jayamkondar also supports this view.²⁶ And therefore Kulottunga being the only daughter's son of Gangaikonda Chola was by right entitled to succeed to the Chola throne in preference to his uncle Virarajendra and his son Adhirajendra.

Now it might have happened that in 1063, after the death of the Eastern Chalukya king Rājarāja his son Rajendra Choda succeeded to the Vengi throne.²⁷ Shortly afterwards Rajendradeva, father-in-law of Kulottunga also died leaving the Chola throne vacant. Kulottunga who had probably been cherishing the ambition of succeeding to the Chola empire as *dauhitra* of Gangaikonda Chola

23. See *supra*—Chellur grant of Virachoda.

24. Proceedings of the second Oriental Conference held at Madras 1925, pp. 143-145.

25. S. I. I. Vol. III Part 1. p. 59.

26. The Hindu, 23 March 1927.

27. *Supra* Chellur plates of Vira Choda quoted above.

for some time, immediately repaired to the south when he heard, of the death of his father-in-law, leaving the Vengi-rajya to his paternal uncle Vijayaditya. This he might have done for more than one reason. His own children might be still young and unfit to be left in charge of a kingdom which was like an apple of discord between the Western Chalukyas and the Cholas. Another reason might be that he had great regard for his uncle Vijayaditya whose loyalty he was anxious to secure for himself during his absence in Vengi, and thereby strengthen his power in his own native country.

Things were not in the Chola capital as Prince Rajendra Choda wished to be. Unluckily for him Kulottunga arrived late on the scene for Virarajendra had already usurped the throne and crowned himself the Emperor. Rajendra had advanced too far, to give up his long cherished desire for the Chola throne and to go back to Vengi. Virarajendra indeed proved to be a very powerful rival and enemy in the field, and it was not possible therefore for him to achieve his object easily. Kulottunga had to remain an exile practically throughout the reign of Virarajendra waiting for an opportunity to defeat Virarajendra and occupy the Chola throne.

It is said that the conquest of Chakrakottam, and the capture of elephants Vâyirâgaram were the two great accomplishments of Kulottunga while he was a youth. These events, appear to have taken place in all probability when he was Yuvaraja to his father Rajaraja at Rajamahendravaram and not of the Chola Emperors, Gangaikonda Chola or Virarajendra as we will presently see. That Rajaraja of Vengi, and Dhârâvarsha of Chakrakotta mandala were always at feud with each other and burnt each other's towns whenever opportunity offered itself, is borne out from several sources.²⁸ In view of this fact it becomes necessary to fix the date of the Kulottunga's invasion of Bastar and capture of Chakrakotta in order to find out whose Yuvaraja he was at that time. The last known date of king Dhârâvarsha of Chakrakottam is 1060 A. D. which is given in a record²⁹ of his feudatory Chief *Mahamandalesvara* Chandraditya. The inscription records that Chandraditya Maharaja excavated at the capital town Parasuru a tank which he called Chandradityasamudra, on whose bank he constructed a Siva temple, naming it after himself as Chandradityâsvara shine. For the maintenance of the temple he made a grant of a village which he had purchased from king Dhârâvarsha. This transaction was effected in the presence of the ruling king. It is suggested that probably this Chandraditya who belonged to the Kâsyapa gotra and was connected with the ancient Chodas of the Cuddapah District, followed Kulottunga in his campaign against

28. Kuruspal stone inscription of Somesvaradeva. Ep. Ind. Vol X. p. 25 pp.

29. Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1908-9 page 111, para 65.

Bastar country and settled down in the newly conquered country as a subordinate to Dhârâvarsha. The pride of the victor could hardly have allowed his kith and kin to accept such a position, and it must have taken a long time for an enemy's follower to settle himself as a *Mahâmandalesvara* of an aggrieved party unless the terms of peace stipulated that the latter should accept a relative of the conqueror in that position. At any rate it must have taken some time at least for Chandraditya to have accepted a subordinate position and settle down in order to carry out the religious acts recorded in the inscription. It may therefore be assumed that the campaign against Bastar by Kulottunga might have been the closing event of a long and protracted war between Vengi and Chakrakottam for some time prior to 1060 or 1058 A.D., and therefore Kulottunga could have fought those wars for Vengi as his father's Yuvaraja and not of Chola kings Gangaikonda and Virarajendra.

But a question would now arise as to why Kulottunga, on the death of his father, having succeeded to the kingdom of Vengi, bestowed it upon his paternal uncle Vijayaditya and proceeded to acquire the Chola crown for himself. Obviously it is his imperial ambition that has prompted him to that. But there is some thing more. Kulottunga seems to have conferred the kingdom of Vengi upon his paternal uncle Vijayaditya, with a shrewd and statesman-like foresight. He wanted to secure by this act the loyalty of his uncle who was all along the vassal of the Western Chalukyas; for Vijayaditya appears to have left Vengi in his brother's reign apparently dissatisfied; and this act of Kulottunga only soothed the heart of the offended prince.

Vijayaditya, we know from his grants dated 1064 and 1066 A. D.³⁰ was ruling the Nolambavadi 32,000 as a vassal of the Western Chalukya king Someswara I. It is also known to us from the unpublished copper plate inscription³¹ of Saktivarman II, son of Vijayaditya that the king was crowned in Sâka 986, roughly corresponding to 1064 A. D., which date would roughly take us into the reign of Vijayaditya VII himself. Vijayaditya's Ryâli copper plate grant³² issued in the 12th year of his reign tells us that Saktivarman II was crowned ruler by his father Vijayaditya, but that he reigned only for one year and then passed away suddenly, and that his father resumed authority out of regard for *dharma* i. e. his duties as ruler and a warrior, like Arjuna after the death of Abhimanyu. It is therefore clear that Vijayaditya crowned his son to the kingdom which was

30. Ep. No. 322 of 1925; Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1925, p. 75 and Ep. Ind. Vol. IV p. 213 ff.

31. O. P. No. 8 of 1913, Ep. Report, Southern circle, 1914, page 86 para 10.

32. O. P. No. 8 & 9 of 1925; Ep. Report 1925 p. 77 para 5.

conferred upon him and went away in all probability to his viceroyalty over Nolambiavâdi. The motive apparently seems to be to continue his friendship with the Western Chalukyas whose vassal he appears to be even for some time prior to 1046 A. D.³³ Besides as the metaphor in the Ryali copper plate grant indicates Vijayaditya was anxious to secure for his son, the kingdom of Vengi even like the Pandava Prince Arjuna. But as fate would have it, Saktivarman II, like Abhimanyu, to continue the metaphor, might have in all probability fallen in the battle field, in the wars with Virarajendra, at a time when his father and his brother Kulottunga were away. After the death of Saktivarman II, Virarajendra might have remained for a short time in possession of Vengi, but was subsequently driven out by Vijayaditya himself, as can be seen from the passage from his Ryali grant quoted above, with the help of Western Chalukya and Kulottunga on the one hand and Eastern Ganga king Rajaraja on the other.

It is not however possible to trace the movements and doings of Kulottunga during the period of exile 1063—1070 A. D. as we have no records mentioning him. Perhaps he had hardly time enough to breathe and rest as his fiery ambition remained still unfulfilled. It might be that he was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow Virarajendra, with the help of Ahavamalla and his son Somesvara II and the Eastern Ganga king Rajaraja, who appears to be his mother's sister's husband. When Virarajendra died in 1070 A. D. Kulottunga saw an opportunity to seize the Chola throne once more. But even then, he had a rival in Adhirajendra son of Virarajendra who had for his ally his brother-in-law the powerful Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI. Adhirajendra was installed king through the intervention of Vikramaditya VI but no sooner had the latter left Kanchi than the events changed and once more Kulottunga saw an opportunity to succeed to the Chola throne. Adhirajendra was murdered by his own people as Bilhara tells us. Kulottunga captured the kingdom and crowned himself the emperor of Chola dominions, uniting thus in himself the Chalukya and Chola families. Though he was a Chalukya by birth Kulottunga had a better claim to succeed to the Chola throne, than Virarajendra or his son Adhirajendra. He only established the Chalukya dynasty under the new name Chalukya-Choda dynasty on throne of Kanchi.

33. See the Manimangalam Tamil inscription of Rajagopal Perumal Temple in S. I. I., Vol. III No. 28 page 53. The inscription mentions among those conquered by Rajadhiraja, one Vishnuvardhana Vijayditya in the employ of Western Chalukyas. Since we are certain that Somesvara I. had only three sons, Somesvara II, Vikramaditya VI, and Jayasimha III, Vijayaditya referred to herein might be identical with the Eastern Chalukya prince of that name, the step brother of Rajarajalarendra, as he bore the titles of Vishnuvardhana and Vengimandalesvara.

THE AFFINITY BETWEEN TELUGU AND TAMIL.¹

By C. ATMARAM, B. A., B. L.

The scope of this essay is specially confined to the structural and dictional affinity between two of the most important South Indian languages which have played a very prominent part as the medium of expression of an ancient civilisation. Talking of a group of languages, it is a very interesting digression to advert to the racial affinity of the races speaking the various elements of the group, but seeing that it is comparatively unexplored field and the statements made about it are more matters of speculation than of organised research, I shall try to avoid that serbian bog as far as possible. We have to take with great caution the alleged results of fanciful research based merely on unskilled, imaginary outbursts of racial enthusiasts. Some of these proceed to build elaborate theories on frail foundations, based on similarity of sounds, without sufficient training in philology and phonology. A claim has been made in recent years by a section on the over-enthusiastic Tamilians, that in language and race they are older than the Aryans, that they are allied racially and linguistically with the Hebrews and the Assyrians and that the civilisation and culture they represent which is known as the Sumerian civilization is the source and inspiration of the Aryan civilization and culture. Some of them go even so far as to say that there was a Dravidian emigration to Arabia and Assyria. Others less ambitious content themselves with a reconstruction of Paleogeography in their imagination and connecting the two places by a now-submerged continent. Whatever may be the merits of such suppositions, I will leave it by merely observing that they are the results of an audacious venture and that it is better to be sure of the foundation for such theories and to collect more and more material before entering on the very enticing field. I have no doubt that the confusion between race and language in the minds of some of them, has given rise to some of the erroneous and extravagant claims they make and the ambition to represent themselves as belonging to an ancient and superior civilization in their consciousness is responsible for clouding the issues in their minds. This consciousness has been a fruitful source of impediments in the field of philology and an earnest seeker of truth cannot do better than eliminate it before entering on any research.

1. Read before the Annual Gathering of the Society held on 17-4-27.

It has been well established that people talking one language need not, for that reason, have belonged to the same race and that momentous changes in phonal values are due to the adoption of a foreign language by a race not accustomed to speak it. The discussion about the Aryan and the Dravidian races and their relative claim to superiority has absolutely no place in a consideration of the languages belonging to an allied group and a spirit of earnest research divested of all race-consciousness is the first qualification of a philologist.

It is a pity that, till now, the languages belonging to the so called Gondic or Dravidian group have not been scientifically studied by any scholar. It is said that language makes the whole world kin and a good understanding of the community of the source of several languages will surely tend to harmonise several elements of disunion and destroy the spirit of parochial seclusion. If for this object of promoting comradeship and cutting down of self-constructed barriers between man and man, and groups of men talking allied languages and for no other, a scientific study of languages is worth while attempting. And I venture to say that any serious attention bestowed upon it will reveal the fact that by language the people of the Madras Presidency belong to one and the same group.

The main languages belong to the Dravidian group are 1. Tamil, 2. Telugu, 3. Kanarese and 4. Malayalam of which Tamil is pre-eminently the first in importance and Telugu comes next. Kanarese occupies a subordinate place in the group and Malayalam is comparatively of recent origin. I propose in this essay to show the relationship of Tamil and Telugu only. By a casual reading of any Tamil or Telugu book published now, one cannot help finding that on adverting to the words on any page, more than half and nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the number of words are borrowed from Sanskrit directly and the only change they undergo is one of inflection. A more careful study will reveal the existence of other words, which at first sight appear to be different from Sanskrit, but of which the relationship to Sanskrit can be traced with a little difficulty. There are other words of a third kind which form the substance and frame work of the language which have no connection with the Sanskrit language. The first class of words directly borrowed from Sanskrit are not limited and there has been perpetual borrowing so that every Sanskrit word may be used in Telugu or Tamil by merely changing the inflection. They do not form the substance of the language and are merely loan-words.

The second class which are derivatives from Sanskrit are scarcely distinguishable from native words and it requires a mind trained in the laws of sound to perceive the relationship. These are

words which have undergone changes of ablaut and umlaut, and consonant changes, and so beaten out of shape and form that they cannot be recognised as Sanskrit. The reason for this is that the words are borrowed from one or other of the several *Prākṛits* which were the spoken languages of the people of the north. An analogy can be drawn between these words and words which have been borrowed into English from Norman-French. There is, as is well-known a borrowing into English directly from Latin and a borrowing indirectly through the corrupted forms of Norman-French. It is a moot point, even at this time, whether Sanskrit is a standard dialect of a *Prākṛit* or the source of all *Prākṛits* but a consideration of that need not arrest us here in the discussion of the *Prākṛit* loan words into Telugu or Tamil. This is, however, the most important element of the native language of Tamil or Telugu and it is this that needs very careful and systematic study. I will not be certainly wrong when I say that in this study lies the key to many racial and religious problems like the Aryan and Dravidian fusion and the action and reaction of each on the other. It is a matter of very great regret that so little has been done in this field. There have been very few scholars who combined in themselves a thorough knowledge of both the Tamil and Telugu languages and a knowledge of *Prākṛits* sufficient to undertake this investigation. Besides these a training in philology and phonology on western lines and above all a spirit of enquiry and search of truth for its own sake complete the quipment of one competent to attack the problem in all its bearings. Another difficulty that presents itself is that there are no books extant, written in the *Prākṛits* from which the borrowing has been extensively made into Telugu and Tamil. What are the *Prākṛits* from which the borrowing has been made? Scholars say that it is largely from *Paisāchi* and a little from *Apabhramsa* that the words were so taken. Tradition has it that *Guṇādhya* wrote *Bṛihatkaṭha* in *Paisāchi* but a copy of it has not so far been found, though adaptations and summaries of it in other languages are found. In spite of these difficulties the evidence of the preseuce of this element is so strong and clear that the words so borrowed form the substantial extract of the expressive portion of both the Tamil and Telugu languages. The abundance of this element has led some people to doubt whether this or the 3rd group of words which are native and different from Sanskrit is the borrowed element in the Telugu language; but for the reasons I give when I come to discuss the 3rd group of words, it is preposterous to think or imagine that Telugu is only a *Prākṛit* and that the native element is borrowed, this applies to the Tamil language also for, in that as in Telugu the *Prākṛit* element predominates. Another theory with regard to these words is that they are in form and substance native words themselves and that it was the Sanskrit itself that borrowed

them from Tamil or Telugu. The advocates of this theory base it on the remarks of some Prâkrit Grammarians that Sanskrit borrowed words from Desyas. It is no doubt, extremely flattering to the South Indian Languages. But it is neither true history nor correct philology. The earliest written or other records in Tamil do not take us very long before the Christian era and in the absence of definite evidence, it will be extremely dangerous to hazard an opinion about such an unnatural process. And about the question of derivation whether the Sanskrit words are derived from Tamil or the reverse without defining the laws of sound according to which the evolution of words occurred. I proceed to give a few of the innumerable instances which speak for themselves. An elaborate system of rules and laws is not within the scope of this short essay but an investigation is very instructive and worth the pains bestowed on it. I have taken as instances only words which are common to both the Tamil and Telugu.

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Telugu.</i>	<i>Tamil.</i>
Vâk	Vâyi	Vâyi
Śravah	Sevi	Chevi
Kara	Kai	Kai
Attika	Akka	Akka
Sadṛisa	Sari	Sari
I ha	I ka	I ttha
Ehi	Egu	Egu
Śtri	Ithi	tthi
Kshâra	Kâra	Kâra
Kutumba	Gudise	Kudi
Chûrna }	Sunna	Sunna
Sûnya }		
Chhinna	Chinna	Chinna
Dyûtha	Jûda	Sûdu
Chekram	Chekka	Chekku
Madhyam	Mayam	Mayyam
Iyakta	Chettha	Chettha
Ishu	ûsu	ûsi
Ekam	Ekkam	Ekkam
Snâyu	Nâyi	Nâyi
Prathi	patti	partri
Paksha	pakka	pakka
Prasthara	pothara	pothra

These words and many more, the collection of which is only limited by the patience of the investigator are common to both Telugu and Tamil and are found even in the earliest written records in both the languages. From the structure itself it is evident that the words are evolved forms from Sanskrit through some Prakrit whether Paisachi

or Andhra. Thus Tamil and Telugu have borrowed from a common source a very large number of words which have so mixed up with the language as to be indistinguishable from the native words and which have come into daily use. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that both the languages must have been the same language at one time though each followed its own course of evolution. I have taken some of your time over this portion as an investigation into this is important not merely to show the affinity of the language, but I believe that a proper study of the historical development of the languages will throw light on the cultural fusion of the Aryan and Dravidian elements of Indian civilization, the refining of the animistic and brutal religious practices in the orthodox Saiva, Saktheya etc., indigenous to South India by the Northern religion and the infusion of the emotional element from the South into the religious spirit of pure reason in the North.

The 3rd class of words and terminations that face the reader on any page in any Tamil or Telugu book are native words (Desyas) which are totally different from Sanskrit words, and cannot be perceived by the highest stretch of imagination to have either directly or indirectly through Prakrits any relation to Sanskrit. These are the most important portion of language and form its substance and frame work. The test of the individuality of a language, and its right to stand by itself is indicated by its sounds, its pronouns, inflections in number, gender and case, its verb and verbal inflections in tense and other such things. Let us apply this test to see whether the Tamil and Telugu are related and if so in what relation? For the purposes of this relation, for obvious reasons only native Tamil and Telugu words are to be taken into consideration. First, taking the vowels, two vowels appear in Tamil and Telugu which do not find a place in Sanskrit "ê" and "ô" the short middle vowel and the short mid-back vowels. In the consonants, the aspirated consonants do not appear in both the languages and it is due to this peculiarity that Sanskrit words assume peculiar forms when they are borrowed. Conjunct consonants are mostly assimilated either to the former or to the later consonant. A trilled "r" which is called strong "r" in Tamil and vehicle "r" from its form in Telugu is a peculiar feature of both the languages. (२) This is absent in Sanskrit e.g. Yêru, Vêru, Marî, Chîru, Irangu, Kuraiya etc. If a careful study is made of the forms of common words in Tamil and Telugu containing this letter the heated controversy raging round this will find an easy solution. Another consonant "ḡ" appears in Tamil and is also found in early records in Telugu though later the letter is changed into "ṣ" wherever it occurs. Such words may be traced to the source. A few of the words are ûrhu, kûrhu, varhakkam, murhu, kîrhu Irhuttu. Sometimes the letter is changed into "la" or "ḷa" Murhgu Mulugu. This is consistent with the change found in dialects of Tamil where in

the South it is changed to "la" and in the North to "ya." I will have to refer to this in another connection.

2. Pronouns and pronominal terminations.

1st person.	En.	Em.
2nd	„ Ni.	Nir.
3rd	„ Avan. Ān, Adu, Vādu, Āndu, Adi.	Avar, Avai. Vāru. Avi,

3. Nouns, plural. gal, galu, lu.

There is a peculiar instance of the confusion which brings out the relation-ship of this more closely.

Telugu.

Singular.

I
Iga.
Anai.

Plural.

Igalu
Igalu.
Anaigalu.

4. The strongest evidence of the close affinity between the languages is supplied by the numerals in both the languages.

Tamil.

Ondru
Or + ka
Irādu
Mūndru
Nāli
Aindu
Āru
Ezhu

Telugu.

Ondu
Orka, Okka
Rendu
Mūndu
Nālgū
Aidu
Āru
Ezhu, Eḍu

This shows that the group to which Tamil and Telugu belong is a group distinct from Sanskrit and has a right of independent existence. All of you know that verbs predicate the actions of persons and are the most important links in the medium of speech and the relationship nay, the identity of forms of the principal verbs in both supplies positive proof of their belonging to the same group. I will give a list of a few principal examples here.

Verbs.

Muzhuvu = Mudiyu, Izhu = Idchu,
Ennu = Ennu, Kūzhu = Kūdu, Adai = Adayu,
Ariyu - Arayu, Cheppu = Cheppu, Pugazhu = Pogaku,
Uru = Uru, Undu = Undu, Nil = Nilu.
Thodangu = Thodagu, Vēndu = Vedu, Thudai = Thuduchu,

Viru = Viruchu, Thirupu = Thrippu, Idu = Idu,
 Pannu = Pannu, Kondadu = Kondadu, Thirai = Therachu,
 Nagai = Navvu, Nadai = Nadachu, Ādu = Ādu, Pertru = Peltu

Nouns.

Peyir = Pêru, ūru = ūru, Kattalai = Kattadi,
 Koraiya = Kora, Thambi = Thammudu, Idam = edam,
 Āndu = Ādu, Udambu = Oḍalu, Uyir = Usuru,
 Selavu = Selavu, Man = Mannu, Vin = Vinnu.

These are only a very few instances of several and a close examination will show that every native word in either language has a corresponding word in the other, extant or obsolete. One other important point of resemblance is with regard to "Samdhi." The study of the rules of Samdhai in both the languages reveals a very close similarity that may very well form the subject of an essay by itself. The elaborate system by which a consonant of the previous word is joined with a vowel following it is a peculiar feature of this group of languages and the system is more elaborate in Tamil than in Telugu. Besides this there are other combinations of consonants also and the *āgama* of a *ya* or *ta* for euphony in samdhi is a common feature in both the languages.

These instances show the close affinity between the two languages in substance and form abundantly and their claim to a distinct position apart from Sanskrit. But the important question still remains, what is the exact relationship? Is native Telugu a dialect or source of the Tamil language or is it that both of them have a common source. The similarities and the resemblances are so many that another conclusion is not possible.

A study of the forms in Telugu and Tamil easily shows that Telugu is later and cannot be earlier than Tamil and that some of the Telugu forms appear in dialects of Tamil. In this connection, there is another important fact to consider. The earliest record in Telugu found so far belongs to the 8th century while records in Tamil go so far back as the early centuries of the Christian Era at the latest. If Telugu has a distinct position apart from Tamil coeval with it, holding its own status as a living language, there is no reason why books and records should not have been written in that language. Another point I urge upon you is how is it that the Telugu script comes to be current only about the 8th century and that too not in its perfected form? How is it, I ask that the earliest script as we find it is not a separate entity by itself but only a corruption of the Brahmi script? The reason according to me is not far to seek and that is, Telugu had been from a very long time only a dialect of Tamil and that when it came into contact with a

second sanskritic influence and assumed a form when it could cut away its former relations, came to be recognised as a separate language and that this happened about the 7th century of the Christian Era, I could quote examples of the dialectical relationship of the Telugu but I am afraid I will have to launch into an elaborate inquiry. I place the above hints, (they are not more than hints,) for your consideration and if I have stimulated a spirit of enquiry in you into this very romantic subject I have achieved my purpose.

VYAGHRADEVA OF THE VAKATAKA INSCRIPTION OF GANJ.

By G. RAMADAS, B. A., M. R. A. S.

This Vākātaka inscription was edited by Dr. Sukthankar in Vol. XVII of *Epigraphia Indica* where he plainly says that it is not possible to identify the Vyāghradēva of this inscription with any of those of the same name found in several well known inscriptions. But in the *Indian Antiquary* of December 1926, an attempt is made to establish the identity of this Vyāghradēva with the Vyāghra-rāja mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Divested of the terminal appellations of 'rāja' and 'dēva' both of these princes become Vyāghras, but the ending points out the distinction as clearly as a 'rao, pantulu, iyar' etc., show now a days. Though Rāma is the name proper, the sect or caste is intimated by Ramarao or Rama Iyar. The ending of 'dēva' in the royal names found in the inscriptions does indicate the time when that prince lived. A careful study of the names of the rulers mentioned in the dated inscriptions shows us the truth of this statement.

The list of North Indian Inscriptions given by Dr. Keilhorn in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V enables us to study the names of the rulers; for the author, knowingly perhaps, gave the names with all the appendages as they are given in the original inscriptions. The date of each document is also discussed, so that the changes in the princely titles from time to time may be observed.

Of the inscriptions dated according to the *Mālava-Vikrama era*, the Dhiniki Plates (No. 8) are the earliest to mention that *Mahārājadhīrāja* Sivadeva of Sourashtra had the appellation of 'deva.' This document being dated in Vallabhi year 794 belongs to the year A. D. 851. The names of kings in inscriptions of earlier dates according to this era, do not bear the terminal of 'dēva.' It may, therefore, be assumed that in the places where reckoning was made according to the *Mālava-Vikrama era*, the rulers began to add 'deva' to their names from about A. D. 800.

Deogadh Pillar inscription (No. 352) is the earliest of the documents dated according to the Saka system. It says that the *Mahārājadhīrāja* of Sourashtra in the Saka year 784 was Bhojadēva. In this list the inscriptions with earlier dates are pronounced to be spurious and so they are left out of consideration. The only earlier document which is not pronounced to be spurious is the No. 350 and

the king's name in it does not contain the 'deva' at the end. This inscription dated in Saka year 631 (A. D. 709) does not say that its king was a 'dēva'; while the Deogadh Pillar inscription dated in Saka year 784 (A. D. 862) says that its king's name ends in 'dēva'. Therefore it may be assumed that from about A. D. 800, the kings that adopted this system of reckoning assumed this appellation of 'deva.'

Of those that are dated according to the *Kalachāri* (*Chēdi*) system, the Benares Plates dated in *Kalachāri* (*Chēdi*) year 789 (A. D. 1036) are the earliest to say that king's (Gāṅgēya-dēva) name ends in 'dēva'. The Nausari Plates of the Gujarat Chalukya Pulikēsīrāja are dated in K. Y. 490 which is equivalent to A. D. 737. In this the name of the king does not end in 'dēva'.

Amongst the inscriptions dated according to the *Gupta system* the earliest is that of Śivadeva I of the Lichohhavi family and it is dated in Gupta year 316 which corresponds to A. D. 636. The next one is the Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa (near Kātmāṇḍu) Pillar inscription of Mānadēva. This dated in Gupta year 386 which corresponds to A. D. 705. This inscription gives the geneology of this king; Mānadēva's father was Dharmadēva; grand-father was Śamkaradēva great-grandfather was Vṛishadēva. So in this family the terminal 'Dēva' had been adopted three generations before Mānadeva. Allowing a period of twenty-five years on the average for each king, we find Vṛishadēva reigning about A. D. 630. These two inscriptions show that the ending 'dēva' came into use from about A. D. 600. It is to be observed that in the inscriptions dated according to this system the *Mahārājādhirājās* had *āditya*, *sēna*, or *pala* at the end of their names; and it was only the *Mahārājās* and the vassal kings that had their names terminated with 'dēva' and that only from A. D. 600.

From these observations it may be asserted that Vyāghradēva, being a feudatory of a Prithvisena, must belong to the times after A. D. 600 as is intimated by the word 'dēva' at the end of his name. But, since the invasion of Samudragupta happened between A. D. 346 and 350, the Vyāghrarāja (only a rāja) of Mahākāntāra cannot be the same as the Vākātaka vassal. There is an interval of about three centuries, if not more, between the two princes.

The next point for identification of Vākātaka Vyāghradeva with the Vyāghraraja was the location of Mahākāntāra, the latter's kingdom with that part of India which is now known as the Maikal and Malwa. The author of the article in the *Indian Antiquary* of December 1926 says, "*Mahākāntāra* must have included the Sagar division of the Central Provinces extending northwards certainly to the Ajaighad State in Bundelkhand". Because Nachna and Ganj where the inscriptions which mention this Vākātaka Vyāghradēva

are situated in the Ajaighad state, he assumes that this Vyâghradeva's province was, during the time of Samudragupta, known as Mahâ-kântara. In the Allahabad Pillar inscription Mahâkântara is said to be one of the kingdoms of the Dakshinâpatha.

“(20).....*prabhriti-sarva-dakshinâpatha-râja*.....”

Where does the Dakshinâpatha begin? The whole of India lying to the south of the Vindhya mountains is known by this name. But the Sagar division of the central Provinces and the Ajaighad state in Bundelkhand lie on the northern slopes of the Vindhyas; and are considered to belong to Northern India but are not counted amongst the countries of the south.

To strengthen his argument he says, “In the Balaghat Plates of Prithvisēna II, Kōsala, Mēkhala and Mālava are mentioned in the order of proceeding from east to west and lying across the Vindhya mountains along the northern frontier of the Vākātaka dominions proper. In the Samudragupta inscription we begin with Kosala and pass on to Mahâ-kântāra, answering more or less roughly to the region extending north to south across Bundelkhand down to the Maikal range (Sanskrit: Mēkhala) and beyond.” Mahâkosala is identified with ‘Berar of which the present capital is Nagpur. During the time of Samudragupta it might not have been confined to the limits of the present Berar¹; but might have extended northwards and might have abutted upon Magadha, the kingdom of the Guptas. That must have been the reason for Samudragupta to march first on it. The invader first started southwards and as a warrior maintained that direction in his march without turning backwards. Had Mahâkântāra been the tract now known as Maikal and Malwa, he must have turned round after he had subdued the metropolis of Kosala. As this procedure is unwelcome, he must not have made this turn, though we cannot ‘imagine something like a design in the order of his conquests.’ He did not turn round from the capital of Kosala; yet he is said to have conquered Mahâkântāra. It cannot therefore be said that the kingdom of Vyâghrarāja was the same as what has been said, in the Balaghat Plates, to have been the Vākātaka dominion or a part thereof.

Another argument put forth by the learned author is here quoted. “.....the consequence of his suppression of the northern rulers is described to be the reduction to his service of the various forest chieftains (*âkavika Rājahs*). That means the region of these forest chieftains begins immediately from the border land of Āryāvarta. We find inscriptions of Hastin describing him as a ruler over the ‘eighteen forest kingdoms! These ‘eighteen forest kingdoms must have

1. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India edited by S. N. Mujumdar. p. 595

lain in and about the neighbourhood of Bundelkhand and Baghal-khand, and would answer almost exactly to the Mahākāntāra of Samudragupta, and the region extending southwards from the kingdom proper, if there was such a one.' In this we see that the provinces of the several *ātavika Rājas* subdued by Samudragupta were comprised within the limits of Mahākāntāra. But Samudragupta's inscription itself informs us that Mahākāntāra was in Dakshināpatha and the *ātavika Rājas* were in Aryāvarta. Moreover, is it an act of praise in a warrior if he vanquishes those that have been already vanquished by him? If the provinces of these Atavikarajās were comprised within Maākāntara, what occasion had the Gupta conqueror to take up arms against these minor rulers again? To imagine that the poet had, to make the *prasasti* more impressive, narrated the conquest of Mahākāntāra in more detail! Yet repetition is a flaw in composition. Therefore Mahākāntāra, for no reason, can be identified with the region now known as Maikal and Malwa. For the location of this Mahākāntāra, we must seek in another quarter.

We have already seen that Mahākāntāra was mentioned, in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, amongst the kingdoms of the Deccan and therefore it must be sought for in that part of India which lies to the south of the Vindhya's. Since it is named immediately after Kosala, it must have been very close to that country. Amongst the inscriptions discovered in the excavations of Amarāvati Stupa, there are two (Nos. 8 and 231; Notes on Amarāvati Stupa by Burgess) in which Mahāvana a synonym of Mahākāntāra (अटव्य रण्यं विपिनं गहनं काननं वनम्), is mentioned. As there is a clue given in one of these inscriptions, to identify this Mahāvana, I shall here devote a few lines for the correct interpretation of it.

The inscription No. 8 was originally read by Dr. Hultzsch as follows (Notes on Amarāvati Stupa by Burgess. P. 52.):—

1. Sidham namo Bhagavato achar [iyana]
2. mahāvanasaliyāna Sāripu [tāna a-]
3. matāna sisihasa Sagaru.....
4. gahagujā Kaṁdasa Dhamm [i] lavāni-
5. yaputasa etc. etc. etc.

".....Kaṁda" the son of the merchant Dhammīla, from Sagharu... gahaguja (?) the disciple of the pure teacher Sāripu, who lives in the hall in the great forest (*Mahāvanasala*). Similarly, '*Mahāvanasala-vathavasa*' occurring in inscription No. 231 was translated as 'who resides in the hall in the great forest.' In these two inscriptions '*Sāla*'

2. Kaṁda is still a name given to persons amongst the Porajās, the original inhabitants of the region.

in Mahâvanasala was understood to be *salâ* and was translated as 'hall.' It was this meaning that led the subsequent editors of the two inscriptions—for they were several times edited and corrected—to think how Sagaru (a village) could exist in a hall. So the following translation is given as the finally settled meaning of the inscription.

".....the merchant Siridata (Śridatta), son of the merchant (vaniya) Dhammila (Dharmila)..... of the pupil (? Sisihasa) of the teacher (acha [riya]) Śāripu [to] Śāriputra), the Maâvanasaliya (who lives in Mahâvana sâla ?) (List of Brahmi Inscriptions by Lüders, No. 1230 Ep. Ind. Vol. X)

From this translation it is clear that the name Sagharu is completely omitted. The cause of all this is the mistaken notion that 'Sala,' is a modified form of Śâla and therefore means 'a hall.' But it is not considered that 'Sala' also means a boundary wall (H. H. Wilson.) From the boundary wall it means boundary or region within the boundary. In Oriya there is only one word in which this 'Śâla' occurs. Kûi-Sâla means the 'Sâla' pertaining to a well. Here Sâla cannot be understood to mean a hall or a shed; for no sheds are built over wells. When a thing, say a vessel, is said to be in Kûi-sâla it means that it exists near the well or in the place near the well. It is well known in India, that in almost every house a certain portion of the compound is set apart for the well and for the purposes that are done near the fountain of water. It is this place that is indicated by the Oriya word. So 'Sâla' here means the 'place around' and therefore appears to be a modification of 'Sthala;' in the inscription the word is written without long 'a' e.g. Mahâvana-sâla; this confirms that 'Sala' is only a modification of the Sanskrit word 'sthala.' In this light Mahâvana-sala means 'in the region of the great forest' (*Mahâvanasthala*.)

Thus a particular tract of country was known as *Mahâvana* is confirmed by these two inscriptions. From the 1st inscription we learn that one Kamda, the son of the merchant Dhamila was a *gahaguja*'³ of Sagharu, which must be the name of a village. After a great search for years, I have found this Sagharu in the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam. In Oriya, the short 'a' is pronounced with the sound of 'o' short. So this 'Sagharu' is found written as 'Sagaru' (18° 31' N. Lat. 82° 40' E Long) in Sheet No. 93 of Indian Atlas. It lies 10 miles south west of Nandapur, the capital of the ancient kingdom, of which a relic is now known as the Jeypore Samasthânâm of the Agency. In my paper on *A Brief Survey of the Nandapur History published in the Maharajah's College Magazine Vizayanagaram* (Nos. 3 and 4) Vol. IV., I have shown the antiquity of not only Nandapur but of the whole Jeypore Zemindari is full of forests and even now

primeval forests exist around Sogaru. This forest region extends northwards into Ganjam Agency and westwards into the tract now known as the Chhattisgarh states of Central Provinces. It is no wonder if this region, where even now exist primeval forests, was called by the name of Mahavana.⁴ This on the west touches Berar which is identified with Kosala. Any invader like Samudragupta having come as far as Nagpur cannot but see the forest tract lying to the east; if he once begins to march through this forest he arrives at the Mahendragiri, famous in the annals of Kalinga, and which lies at the eastern border of this forest region. This was what had happened to the Gupta conqueror. There need be no design for the order of his conquests; they happened in their natural course and in that order they are found narrated in the prasasti.

In conclusion it may be said that neither Vyâghraraja can be identified with Vyâghradeva nor Mahākāntāra can be identified with any part of the empire of the Vākatakas; and that the Vyâghrarāja of Mahākāntāra never acknowledged the authority of Prithivisena I either before he was defeated by Samudragupta or after. The Vyâghradeva of the Ganj inscription was quite different from the one subdued by the great Gupta Conqueror.

3. 'gahaguja might be a misreading of 'gahapati' which means a house holder—Ed.

4. The Amaravati Inscriptions are pronounced to belong to earlier than A. D. 200. The conquest of the Deccan by Samudragupta is said to have taken place between A. D. 347 and A. D. 350. The region that was called Mahākāntāra was known by that name at the latest from about A. D. 1. We have epigraphical evidence that it was called Shād-khand (a translation of Mahākāntāra) in the 13th century of the Christian era.

REVIEWS.

1. Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, for 1924-25.

During the year, the department surveyed two old buildings and conserved a group of monuments at Golkonda. A new road from the Rauza town to the Ellora caves has been constructed and opened on the occasion of the Viceregal visit. At Ajanta, the several caves and frescoes were all repaired and attempts were made to reproduce the Ajanta frescoes by colour photography. Several tombs and gardens also were repaired.

It is a pity that no new inscriptions were copied down owing to retrenchment. However, we are glad to hear that Mr. Yazdani, the Archaeological Superintendent is editing the inscription found in the Rajahmundry Mosque which throws much light on the conquest of the east coast by Muhammad-bin-Tuglakh. In the field of Numismatics, much praiseworthy work was done. 1273 coins gold, silver, and copper were acquired for the Hyderabad Museum. The gold coins include 22 S. I. spherules, 128 Vijayanagara coins mostly of Krishnadeva Raya and 15 coins of later Mughal emperors. The Indian coins mostly belong to the Moghal rulers. In addition to these coins, several interesting Jaina sculptures, stone antiquities, paintings, arms and metal ware were acquired for the Museum. 109 new photographic plates were taken of which 44 relate to Ellora and Ajanta. It is expected that the growing demand for these photos will be satisfactorily met. It is gratifying to note that the complete outline of the Vessantara Jataka painted in cave 17 of the Ajanta was copied. A colour photo of a Bodhisattva from cave I of Ajanta in various postures, the toilet scene, the palace scene and other scenes were photographed. We are glad to note that the Hyderabad Archaeological Society has been revived under the Presidentship of Hon'ble Mr. W. P. Barton C. S. I., C. I. E., Resident of Hyderabad and we eagerly await its publications. There is a vast field for work especially in Epigraphy and we trust that, by publishing new inscriptions of the several dynasties that ruled over that country in bygone days, the Society will satisfy the public in this part of India. The whole of the Nizam's dominion is, more or less *Terra Incognita* to the antiquarian till now, and it is earnestly hoped that this defect will soon be removed. On the whole, the work done by the department is useful and we cordially congratulate the Superintendent Mr. Yazdani on the excellent work turned out during the year.

R. S. R.

2. Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.

Vol. 8: Part III.

This issue contains a leading article on "The Hour of Death" by Mr. F. Edgerton. Its importance for man's future state in both Hindu and western religions has been well described. The time and place of death are all regarded as having their effect on the future fate. However, all religions (Eastern and Western) agree in saying that man's future fate depends upon his karma or past doings. How can, then, the state of soul at the hour of death or the time or the place or the manner of death affect the future fate of the man? But yet, it is believed by all sects that the Soul's state exactly at the hour of death settles his future fate, for, that moment—the decisive moment—decides the course of the next existence. He is judged according to the then state of mind, which qualifies him for life after death. The Greeks, the Buddhists, the Hindus and Christians all believe that the soul which had a good past life would have a sound state at death. In that way, the whole past life effects the state of mind at the hour of death and this effects the future. Some R. C. theologians declare that the only adequate preparation for death is a righteous life. According to Plato, a man who leads a wise and learned life will be pure at departing and he alone will reach the gods. The Hindus believe that the state of mind, place and manner of death all affect the future. Those who die at auspicious times and places will have a better future life. The last hour is considered the last chance man has got to obtain merit for future life. From the Sathapatha Brahmana and the Upanishads, we learn that the state of mind and the desires of the last hour determine the course of the next birth.

Hence the Hindu insistence on the meditation on God at the time of death. The Buddhists and the Jains also believe in the same. The monks are ordained to repeat the five precepts so that they might be reborn in a still higher Heaven. Several stories are given to show that the dying man's last wishes are fulfilled in the next birth. The Jain Nidana and the Buddhist Pranidhana are dying wishes for some worldly object and the future will be generally shaped accordingly. The future fate of the dying man will be known by certain good and bad omens. When the dying man smiles, speaks, keeps consciousness and has a bright colour and turns up his face, then he will have a good future. Else not. The Bhagavadgita tells us what times are good and what not. All Hindus believe that the place of death and the manner of death have also intimate connexion with future fate.

Besides this, we have other learned articles on Persian prosody, history of Dasakuta, and a translation of the introduction to Senart's Bhagavadgita.

R. S. R.

History of Telugu Poetry. Vol. I.

By Mr. BHOGARAJU NARAYANAMURTY,

Durbar Poet of the Vizianagram Samsthanam, Price Rs. 2.

This excellent little volume forms the second of the Maharaja's College publications and brings credit to that most advanced College of the Telugu Districts. A work of the kind under review has long been overdue and we welcome this publication as a valuable contribution to the history of Telugu Literature. The author seems to have followed the lines of Saintsbury's History of English Poetry and has within the limitations set upon him by the narrowness of the field which he has chosen, succeeded admirably to bring out the more salient features of Telugu Poetry in its development and growth. The first chapter deals with the nature of poetry in general, the second with the ideas of poetry as expressed by the Telugu poets themselves, the third with the theory of poetry as expounded by Telugu rhetoricians the fourth with the ages of Telugu poetry and the fifth with the patrons thereof. The author has successfully got out of the ruts of hackneyed literary criticism as e. g., the determination of the caste of a poet and so on, which has been the main feature of Telugu literary criticism, and has brought to bear a very refreshing outlook upon the subject which he has taken on hand.

But we venture to think that the author could not escape the traditional idea that Telugu poetry is conterminous with court poetry. The ideas expressed by the author in the first chapter have not been followed up by references to popular poetry represented by ballads and the like. We hope the author will devote a special volume by itself for the exposition of the poetry of the people as contrasted with that which has emanated from the voluptuous atmosphere of the courts of kings.

The present volume, however, is only introductory and we eagerly look forward for the other volumes which, we hope, the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram, will publish ere long.

C. N. R.

Joroaster-Life and Times.

By PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER Ph. D. (UPPASALA)

Published by the Andhra Research University Vizianagaram.

pp. 36. Price Re. 1 (Indian) and 2 sh. (Foreign).

This brochure contains three lectures delivered by Prof. Jarl Charpentier Ph. D. (Uppasala) before the Andhra Research University

in May 1925 which treat of the life and time of the founder of the Avestic religion. Speculation into the history of the hoary past is always fascinating and we welcome this pamphlet as a good addition to existing literature on Avestic history.

The present age of oriental criticism is engaged with the demolition of the fond and pet theories of a previous generation of scholars who had, with the materials then available to them, raised structures which commanded the admiration of the learned world. But with the advent of new light in the shape of MSS. and inscriptions, a new outlook has been brought to bear on the problems of ancient history and all the old theories are crumbling to the ground. Prof. Charpentier represents the new school of criticism and he has taken pains in these lectures to bring to the ground the theories regarding the date of Zoroaster advanced by previous scholars like Du Perron, Meillet and Hertel. He is particularly hard against Hertel whose opinion comes in for much sarcasm.

Prof. Charpentier sets aside tradition with regard to the Avesta as entirely untrustworthy for Avestic history. We beg to differ from him. When reliable historical data do not exist, we cannot but fall back upon tradition and make what use we can out of it to construct tentative yet plausible history. With regard to the date of Zoroaster at any rate, as also with Vedic Chronology, we can only proceed on tradition. The professor in demolishing Hertel's theory, has tried to push back the date of the Avesta by a few centuries and fixed it at about 1000 B. C. This strikes us as a little overcautious and rather unwilling to give to the Avesta a more ancient date. This is in line with the opinions of Macdonnell and others of his way of thinking with respect to Vedic Chronology. Eudorpus of Cnidus (4th cy. B. C.), Hermippus (3rd cy. B. C.) and Aristotle (322 B. C.), says Pliny, put the date of Zoroaster 6000 years before the death of Plato (347-46 B. C.) or about 5000 years before the Trojan war. This, Prof. Charpentier thinks, is exorbitant. It may or may not be so, But we venture to think that his date of 1000 B. C. is too late for the establisher of a religion whose ideas are so akin to these of the Rig Veda.

In offering these remarks, it should not be understood that we belittle the importance of Prof. Charpentier's work. It serves, at least, to give us a clearer perception of the issues involved in fixing the date of the Avesta and its author and these forms a valuable addition to ancient historical criticism.

C. N. R.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF

The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry

for the year 1926—1927.

*Submitted at the Annual General Meeting held on 17-4-27 in
the Hindu Samaj Buildings.*

*The Joint Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao M. A., L. T., Presented
the following report :—*

The Council of the Society have great pleasure in presenting the report of the Society's work during the year 1926-27. Though this meeting should have been held in March last, it was not done so owing to more heavy and pressing work engaging the attention of the council.

At the last annual meeting held on 26-3-1926, the council placed on record the work of the Society during the previous five years. It was then resolved that the Society should be registered under Act. XXI of 1860 and that a Quarterly Journal of research should be published. Further, it was also resolved to celebrate the *Kalinga Day* and bring out the *Kalinga Sanchika*. To achieve these new objects, a new set of rules came to be adopted to suit the changed conditions of the Society. Subject to these rules, the Society worked during the year.

The Society elected the Maharajah of Pittapuram as its patron and several other gentlemen interested in the welfare of the Society were elected as Honorary Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The office bearers for the year were also elected at the same time.

MEMBERS.

The number of ordinary members on 31-3-1927, was 150 as compared with 70 at the time of the last annual meeting. This large increase is really gratifying. The number of resident members rose from 30 to 56, a feature which shows the increased popularity of the Society. During the year, the Society has also elected 4 Honorary correspondents who have agreed to contribute original articles to the Journal, in return for the free supply of the Journal.

SUBSCRIBERS.

Another gratifying feature is the increasing number of subscribers to the Journal. In addition to the 150 members, there are at

present 19 subscribers for the Journal and these include University authorities, museums, colleges, Archaeological Departments, Secretariat libraries, etc. It is a matter for particular satisfaction that the director of Public Instruction, Madras has issued proceedings recommending the use of the Journals to all colleges teaching History in the Presidency, and also promised to subscribe for the Journals for the Government institutions under his control ere long.

JOURNAL.

The publication of the Journal has been successfully undertaken by the society. An Editorial Board has been elected by the Council and placed in charge of the Journal work, and this Board was responsible for the publication of the first two issues of Vol. 1. On the resignation of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, of his Editorship on 27-1-27 the council elected Mr. C. Atmaram as the new Editor. The council also increased the number of the members of the Editorial Board from 3 to 5. Owing to the smaller number of members and the low rate of subscription, it has not become possible to increase the size of the Journal considerably. It is hoped that, with increased numbers and large donations, the size of the Journal will be increased before long.

KALINGA DAY.

During the year, the council elected an Editorial committee for the publication of the Kalinga Sanchika with Mr. R. Subba Rao as the Editor. The council resolved to celebrate the Kalinga Day at Mukhalingam during last December and entrusted all work relating to the same to a Committee. Two of its members interviewed the Raja of Parlakimidi who graciously consented to be a patron of the Society and to help it in the matter of Kalinga Day celebrations. The Society's best thanks are, therefore, due to Sree Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi. The celebrations should have come off in last December, but unfortunately, owing to other pressing work of the Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi, and at the request of Mr. I. Kanakachalam, M. A., L. T., a member of the Kalinga Committee, the celebration had to be postponed to April 1927. It is earnestly hoped that the Kalinga Day will be celebrated ere long and that a Kalinga Sanchika for which several learned articles have already been received will be published soon with the generous support of the Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi.

EXCHANGES.

During the year, three parts of the Journal were printed and the fourth part given for print. The Journal has elicited good opinions from several scholars. It is really gratifying to report that as many as 35 different learned Societies and individuals of this and other countries have consented to exchange their Journals with that of the Society.

MEETINGS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES.

During the year, the Society held four ordinary public meetings at which both members of the Society and the public were present. At the first meeting held on 27-3-1926 under the Chairmanship of Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu, Mr N. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T., delivered a lecture on "Modern geography and its national importance". At the second meeting held on 15-7-1926 under the Chairmanship of Professor V. Rangachariar, M.A., L. T., Mr. C. Narayanarao, M. A. read an interesting paper on the "Ryāli plates of Vijayaditya VII." At the third meeting held on 4-12-1926 under the Chairmanship of Pandit Prayaga Venkatarama Sastry, Brahmasri Pandit V. Suryanarayana Sastri delivered a lecture on "Andhra Bhashanusasanam". At the fourth meeting held on 5-12-1926, under the Chairmanship of Mr. D. S. Reddi, B. A., (Oxon), Vice-president of the Society, Mr. S. Bhimasankaram, B. A., read an interesting Paper on "Mahabharatha war and its historical importance."

All these four meetings which were highly interesting and instructive and which were attended largely by the members as well as the public were of great use in stimulating greater interest in the activities of the Society.

The council also held one general body meeting on 5-9-1926, to effect some changes in the rules.

During the year 13 managing council meetings were held for the purpose of admitting new members, passing accounts and transacting other work of the Society.

The Society received an invitation to depute members to read papers at the Fourth All India Oriental Conference, which was held at Allahabad in November 1926, and so the Council requested Messrs. J. Ramayya Pantulu our revered President and M. Ramakrishna Kavi and R. Subbarao to attend and read papers before the conference. None could attend but Messrs M. Ramakrishna Kavi and R. Subbarao sent each two original papers to be read before the conference.

LIBRARY AND READING ROOM.

During the year the council purchased only a hand-full of books. But by way of presentation it has obtained all the past volumes of Bharathi and Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika and the thanks of the Society are therefore, due to Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, Editor, Bharati (and one of the Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society,) and to the Andhra Sahitya Parishat.

The Society has received nearly 100 Journals from different Societies and it has therefore become a problem as to how to extend their use to all members. For the present, for want of a reading room

Mr. D. S. Reddi, B. A., (Oxon), Vice-President of the Society, has very kindly agreed to be the Librarian and offered to give facilities for members to read the Journals and books. However, a reading room and a peon are very badly wanted. At the same time, the want of a good Research Library is keenly felt by the members. Attempts are being made to obtain the use of the late Veeresalingam Pantulu's Library and it is hoped that the Trustees will be good enough to kindly place it within the reach of the Society. The Society also applied to the Government of Madras for financial help but so far without success. The council takes this opportunity to request all members to be good enough to present suitable books to the library.

A list of books purchased and presented and a full list of exchanges recieved during the year are shown in Appendix C.

RESEARCH.

During the year an attempt was made to edit in the Society's Journal new and unpublished copperplate and stone inscriptions. At the same time, a few copperplate inscriptions published in Telugu in Bharathi but not published so far in any English Journal have also been edited. Both kinds of work have proved useful. Also an attempt was made to study the life and customs of the several primitive tribes of the Agency and the results thereof are being published in the Society's Journal. At the same time, literary research has received good attention at the hands of Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi who has collected several rare and unpublished manuscripts and who has very kindly agreed to publish some of them in the Society's Journal. The Council earnestly requests all members to be so good as to collect rare manuscripts of historical and literary value, copper plate and stone inscriptions which have not so far been published, and coins, images and other rare antiquities and present the same to the Society so that the contents thereof may be studied and published in the Society's Journal. The council takes this opportunity to place on record its grateful thanks to Messrs. T. Achyutha Rao, M. A., V. Viswanatha Sarma, M. A., and R. Subba Rao, M. A., for their kindness in presenting to the Society a stone containing an old and important Telugu inscription, a palmyra leaf manuscript containing the history of Padmanayakas and several rare copper and lead coins of Andhra kings, respectively.

FINANCE.

A detailed statement of the Society's financial position is given in Appendix A. The council places on record its sense of gratitude to the Treasurer, Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L., who came to the rescue of the Society so that the Journal work might not suffer. The thanks of the Society are also due to him for grantuitously having

his own room and peon for the use of the Society. The accounts have been audited by Mr. A. Sankara Rao, B. A., and found correct. The council thanks him for the trouble he has taken. Appendix B. gives a full list of the members and subscribers who are on the rolls of the Society on 31-3-1927.

CONCLUSION.

The council feels proud that the Society in its new character has lived an year of success. It is a matter for special joy that it enters the seventh year of its existence much stronger than before and this is solely due to the generous support of its first patron, Sree Raja R. V. K. M. Suryarao Bahadur, C. B. E. Maharajah of Pithapuram who has given a munificent donation of Rs. 300 and to the kind care of its President, Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B. A., B. L., who helped the Society in more ways than one and made it what it is today. The council therefore places on record its grateful thanks to them. It also thanks the several donors that have encouraged the Society by their handsome donations. Lastly, the council places on record its cordial thanks to the Joint Secretaries who worked hard to improve the condition of the Society. It is hoped that with the munificent gifts of other Patrons and Vice-Patrons, and under the able guidance of the revered President, and with the kind co-operation of the members, all the objects of the Society will be more fully realised ere long.

With a fervent prayer to the All-mercifull to shower his choicest blessings on the Society the council presents, this report for the year 1926-27.

APPENDIX. A

*The following is the Treasurer's statement of receipts and disbursement.
from 26—3—26 to 31—2—27.*

Receipts.	Rs. A.P.	Expenditure.	Rs. A.Ps
1. Last year's balance	66-14-6	1. Postage	... 126- 5-6
2. Subscriptions from members and subscribers	... 481-10-0	2. Travelling allowance	40- 0-0
3. Sale of Raja Raja Sanchikas	... 161- 2-0	3. Printing charges	... 589- 3-0
4. Donations	... 405- 0-0	4. Peon's pay	... 14- 0-0
5. Advances by Treasurer.	... 100- 0-0	5. Almyrah rent	... 9- 8-0
		6. Purchase of books	... 9- 2-0
		7. Registration	... 50 8-0
		8. Miscellaneous	... 15- 2-0
		9. Balance on hand	... 360-14-0
	<hr/> 1214-10-6 <hr/>		<hr/> 1214-10-6 <hr/>

N. B. The Society has 5 bound volumes of Raja Raja Pattabhisheka Sanchika costing Rs. 25 and 274 unbound volumes worth Rs. 822. It has also to realise Rs. 71/ from resident members, Rs. 28/ from now resident members and Rs. 9/ from subscribers and Rs. 10/ from donations promised.

(Sd.) Kameswara Rao,
Treasurer.

APPENDIX B

List of Members-150

Messrs.

A

Achuta Rao J.
Anantarama Iyer P. H.
Apparao D.
Apparao V.
Apparao Vissa.
Appa Rao W.
Atmaram C.

Messrs.

B

Bapiraju A.
Bappiraju V.
Bhadrayya L. V.
Bhadrayya P.
Bhagavatam Gupta T.
Bhandarkar D. R.
Bhimasankaram S.

Messrs.

Bhimasena Rao C.
 Bhujangarao T.
 Brahmanandamurti Ch.
 Brierley W. B.

C

Chandrasekhara Reddi C.
D

Dhanaraju T.
 Dharma Rao G.
 Dubrieul J,

E

Eswara Dutt K.

G

Gangadhara Somayajulu G.
 Ganganna J.
 Gangaraju G.
 Gowripati Rao I.

H

Hanumanta Rao S.
 Heras H.

Hiranandha Sastri

J

Jagannadharao N.
 Jagannadharao V.
 Jagannadhaswami G.
 Jagapati Varma J.
 Joganna U.

K

Kameswara Rao D. Ch.
 Kameswara Rao N.
 Kameswara Rao Somina.
 Kameswara Rao S.
 Kameswara Sastri B.
 Kanakachalam I,
 Kesavaramamurti K.
 Krishnamachari M.
 Krishnarao N.
 Krishnarao Bhonsle R.
 Krishnaswami Rao C.
 Kurma Rao B.

L

Lakshmana Rao K.
 Lakshmana Reddi G.

Messrs.

Lakshminarayana Sastri Bh.
 Linganna P.

N

Nagabushanam S.
 Narayana Rao C.
 Narayana Rao D. L.
 Narasimha Iyengar S.
 Narasimha Rao K.
 Narasimha Rao S.
 Narasimulu M.
 Neudoerffer A. F. A.

P

Parameswara Rao Y.
 Peri Sastri S.
 Perraju Sarma A.
 Pitchayya V.
 Prakasa Rao S. V. S.
 Prasadarayudu N. J. D.
 Purushottam T.

R

Raghava Rao Ch.
 Raghava Rao G. V.
 Raghavendra Rao P.
 Rajaratnam K.
 Ramachandra Rao D.
 Ramachandra Rao R. S.
 Ramakoteswara Rao K.
 Ramakrishna Kavi M.
 Ramakrishna Rao T.
 Ramakrishnayya K.
 Ramamurti G. V.
 Ramamurti K.
 Ramarao A.
 Ramayya Pantulu J.
 Ramadas G.
 Rangachari K.
 Rangachari N.
 Rangachari V.
 Rangaswami N.
 Rangaswami Saraswati A.
 Ranganayakamma Y. V.
 Rengareddi N.
 Rao P. S.

Messrs.**S**

Sachidananda Roy S.
 Sadasiva Reddi D.
 Sadasiveswara Prasad V. D.
 Sambasiva Rao D.
 Sankara Rao A.
 Sankhyayana Sarma A. V.
 Satyanarayana Bh.
 Satyanarayana M.
 Satyanarayanamurti J.
 Satyanarayana Rao P.
 Setlur S. S.
 Seetapathy G.
 Seetaramayya K.
 Seetaramarao K.
 Seetarama Sarma K.
 Sivarama Sarma B.
 Sivasankara Sastri T.
 Somasekhara Rao J.
 Somasekara Sarma M.
 Somasundara Desikar
 Somasundaram P.
 Somayajulu C.
 Someswara Rao K.
 Sriram V.
 Statham R. M.
 Subbarao L.
 Subbarao Pantulu N.
 Subba Rao R.
 Subba Rao R.
 Subba Rao V.

Messrs.**Subbarayudu M.**

Subrahmanyam K. R.
 Subrahmanyam N.
 Subrahmanyam S.
 Subrahmanyam V.
 Subrahmanya Sastri S.
 Surya Prakasa Rao C.
 Suryanarayana B.
 Suryanarayana Rao K.

V

Veerabasava Raju I.
 Veerabhadra Rao Ch.
 Venkatachellam A.
 Venkatachellam Pantulu C.
 Venkatakrishnarao B.
 Venkata Narasimha Sastri S.
 Venkataramaniah I.
 Venkataramaniah R.
 Venkataramaniah S.
 Venkataramayya D.
 Venkata Rao Ch.
 Venkata Rao D.
 Venkata Rao Y.
 Venkatasivadu R.
 Venkata Rangiah M.
 Venkata Subbarao N.
 Venkatesan N. K.
 Venkateswarlu V.
 Venkatrama Iyer A. V.
 Vikramadeva Varma
 Viswanadha Sarma V.

List of Subscribers.

1. Librarian, Secretariat Library, Fort St. George Madras.
2. Principal, Mayo College, Ajmere.
3. Principal, Presidency college, Calcutta.
4. Director General of Archaeology, Simla,
5. Director of Information, Secretariat, Bombay.
6. Principal P. R. College, Cocanada.
7. Principal Sanskrit College, Benares.
8. Commissioner. Ajmere-Merwara.
9. Registrar, Andhra University.
10. Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

11. Principal, Noble College, Masullipatam.
12. University Library, Decca.
13. Musie Guimet, 6 place De Tenia Paris XVI, E.
14. President, Karnatic Historical Society, Dharwar.
15. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.
16. Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta.
17. Secretary, Teachers' Association, Bhadrachalam for year 1927.
18. Literary Association, Cocanada.
19. Principal, A. E. L. M. College, Guntur.

APPENDIX C.

List of books purchased during the year 1927—28.

1. Koran Sharif by Chilukuri Narayanarao.
2. South Indian Shrines by P. V. Jagadisa Iyer.
3. Orissa in the making by B. C. Mazumdar.
4. The Indus valley in the Vedic Period.

List of books and other valuable articles presented to the Society during the year 1927—28.

1. Catalogues of the Oriental Manuscript Library.
2. Three bound volumes of the "Andhra Bharathi" presented
by K. Nageswararao.
3. Sixty-four old parts of the journal of the
Andhra Sahitya Parishad.
4. Coins of Hyder Ali and Tippu. } Superintendent,
5. Catalogue of copper-plate grants } Govt. Museum
6. Report of the Government Museum, Madras } Madras.
7. Andhra Economic Series Vol. I by D. S. Reddi.
8. Descriptive and historical sketches of
the cities of Dekkan. } by C. Atmaram.
9. Samkhya system (Heritage of India series) } Do.
10. Gotama Buddha (Do } Do.
11. Elphinstone's History of India by Mr. Vaddadi Apparao.
12. History of Telugu Poetry Vol. I. by Bh. Narayanamurthi.
13. Report of H. E. H. Nizam's Archaeological Department 1925—26.
14. Andhrabhashanusanasamu Vols. 1&2 by M. Suryanarayanasastr
15. Palmyra leaf manuscript of the history of Padmanaiks
by V. Viswanadha Sarma.
16. Gurindagunta stone inscription by T. Achyutharao.
17. Old and rare Andhra coins by Mr. R. Subbarao.
18. Annual report of the Archaeological Department 1913-14 Do.
19. Architecture and sculpture in Mysore No. III. Do.
20. Wathen and Garrets History of India Do.
21. Suryaraya Andhra Nighantu Do.
22. A Journey from Kasveen to Hamadan Do.
23. Life of Swami Dayanand Saraswathi Do.
24. Mythic Society Journals Vols. I, II, III Do.
25. Telugu Samachar Bombay.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 27-1-27.

Present:

- Messrs.** 1. Ramayya Pantulu (In the chair.)
2. D. S. Reddi.
3. C. Narayanarao.
4. B. V. Krishnarao.
5. V. Apparao.
6. N. Kameswararao.
7. R. Subbarao.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen having signified their assent to become members of the society be admitted as members.

1. A. V. Narasimhaswami.
2. P. Bhadrappa, M. A., L. T.,
3. V. Sriram B. A., L. T.,
4. V. Subrahmanyam.
5. Rao Saheb C. Somayajulu.

2. Resolved that the accounts from 6-1-27, to 27-1-27, be passed.
3. Read letter from the Proprietor, Saraswathi Power Press dated 24-1-27, and 25-1-27. Resolved to keep the resolution No. 4 passed in council meeting dated 10-12-26 in abeyance and to try the local press for the rest of the year, subject to the conditions laid down by the editorial committee.
4. Resolved that the resignation of Mr. C. Narayanarao of his membership of the council owing to his transfer, be accepted.
5. Resolved that the offer of Mr. D. S. Reddi to locate the Society's library in his house and to afford facilities for the circulation of the journals be accepted with thanks.
6. Resolved that Mr. C. Atmaram be elected to the managing council in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. C. Narayanarao.
7. Resolved that Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao, D. S. Reddi and V. Apparao be constituted as a committee to frame byelaws for the guidance of the Editorial Committee.

Council meeting held on 4-2-27.

Members present:

- D. S. Reddi (In the chair).
B. V. Krishnarao.
N. Kameswararao.

V. Apparao.
R. Subbarao.
C. Atmaram.

1. Read letter dated 27-1-27, from Mr. B. V. Krishnarao tendering his resignation of the editorship of the journal.
Resolved to accept the resignation of Mr. B. V. Krishnarao with regret. The committee takes this opportunity to place on records its grateful recognition of his valuable services as Editor of the Journal.
2. Resolved that M. R. Ry. C. Atmaram garu be elected as the Editor of the Journal.
3. Resolved that M. R. Ry. V. Apparao garu be elected as a member of the editorial committee. ; .

Council meeting held on 23-2-27.

Present:

Messrs. J. Ramayya. (In the chair)
V. Apparao.
C. Atmaram.
R. Subbarao.
D. S. Reddi.

1. Resolved that the resignation of the council membership and the Joint Secretaryship given by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao be accepted with regret.
2. Resolved that the following gentlemen be admitted as members of the society.
Messrs. C. Bhimasenarao, B. A., L. T., Teacher, Cöcanada.
A. V. Narasimhaswami, Pleader Polavaram.
G. Dharmarao, M. A., lecturer, College, Berhempore.
3. Read letter dated 15-11-26, from the secretary of the "Society for the protection of Ancient Buildings" welcoming affiliation with our society.
Resolved not to comply with the request for the present.
4. Resolved to accept the following exchanges:—
Asia Major, Leipzig. Germany. *
Reports of the Society of Science, Gottingen, Germany.
Annual Bibliography for Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.
The Eastern Buddhist, Tokio, Japan.
Shrine of Wisdom, London.
Quarterly Journal of the Bihar and Orisa research Society
Patna.

5. Read proceedings of the D. P. I. Madras R. O. C. 84 F/26 dated 24-1-27, recommending the Society's Journal as suitable for Colleges teaching history and promising to supply the same to Government Institutions.

Recorded with thanks.

6. Read letter from the Secretary of the Tanjore Palace library. Resolved to ask for the estimate of the cost of both lists of the manuscripts of Telugu works.

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on 31-3-1927.

Present:

Messrs. V. Apparao. (In the chair)
C. Atmaram.
N. Kameswararao.
R. Subbarao.
M. Kamakrishna Kavi.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent, be admitted as members :

R. Subbarao, H. C. Vakil, Rajahmundry.
T. Dhanaraju, Pleader, Do.
C. Brahmanandamurthi, Pleader, Do.
Sishta Venkataramaniah, Do.
G. J. Dubreuil, Professor, Pondichery
J. Somasekararao, Pleader, Rajahmundry.
K. Someswararao, Pleader, Do.
Y. Parameswararao, Pleader, Do.

2. Resolved that the following be considered to have resigned their membership.

D. S. Sastry,
P. Satyanarayana.
C. Ramarao.
V. Satyanarayana.
T. Rajagopalarao.
A. V. Narasimhaswami.

3. Read letter from the Maharajah of Pittapuram enclosing a cheque for Rs. 300/ as donation for the Society.

Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to the Maharajah of Pittapuram for the munificent donation and the same be conveyed to the Maharajah.

4. Read letters from the curator "Puratattva" Ahmelabad and Editor Sujata, Hyderabad requesting exchange of the Society's Journal.

Resolved to comply with the requests.

5. Resolved to return with thanks to Mr. N. Kameswararao, the treasurer, the sum of Rs. 100/ advanced by him to the society.
6. Resolved to elect Mr. V. Apparao, as librarian during the absence of Mr. D. S. Reddi.
7. Resolved that the accounts of the society from 27-1-27, to 31-3-27, be passed.
8. Resolved to hold the Annual general meeting of the society on 27th April 1927.
9. Resolved that Messrs. K. Gopalakrishnamma M.A., and M. Rama Krishna Kavi M. A., be addmitted as honorary correspondents.
10. Resolved that Mr. A. Sankararao B. A., be requested to audit the accounts for the year.

Proceedings of the Annual General meeting held on 17-4-27.

Present.

Messrs.

Messrs.

N. Subbarao Pantulu (In the chair)
 B. V. Krishnarao.
 C. V. Hanumatharao.
 D. Sambasivarow.
 C. Brahmanandam.
 C. Atmaram.
 M. R. Kavi.
 K. Seetharamarao.
 C. Veerabhadrarao.
 C. Narayanarao.

A. P. Sarma.
 Rallabundy Subcarao.
 R. Subbarao.
 N. Kameswararao.
 V. Apparao.
 D. Ch. Kameswararao.
 J. Ganganna.
 A. Sonkararao.
 S. Bhimasankararao.
 S. Nagabhushanarao.

1. Resolved that the Sixth Annual Report for the year 1926-27, presented by the Joint Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao and the financial statement presented by the Treasurer, Mr. N. Kameswararao be adopted.
2. Resolved that the proposal to reduce the number of joint Secretaries from two to one moved by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao and seconded by Mr. C. Atmaram be negatived.
3. Resolved that the following be the office bearers for the year 1927-1928.

Messrs. J. Ramayya Pantulu President.

D. S. Reddi Vice-President.

R. Subbarao
 B. V. Krishnarao } Joint Secretaries
 N. Kameswararao Treasurer.

C. Veerabhadrarao
 M. Ramkrishna Kavi } Members of the
 C. Atmaram } council.
 V. Apparao }

4. Resolved that the Honorary Presidents and Vice-President for the year 1926-27 be re-elected for the year 1927-28.
5. Resolved that the question of having a reading room for the society be referred to the managing council for report.
6. Resolved that the Shivaji Tercentenary be celebrated in a fitting manner.
7. Resolved that the quorum for the managing committee be 4 instead of 5 as at present.

(Sd.) N. Subbarao,
Honorary President

17-4-27

A Public Meeting.

Under the auspices of the society, a public meeting was held on 17-4-27, at 5 P. M., in the Hindu Samaj Hall under the Chairmanship of M. R. Ry N. Subbarao Pantulu garu, B. A., B. L., when Messrs C. Atmaram, C. Veerabhadrarao, S. Bhimasankararao and C. Narayana-rao read papers on "The affinity between Tamil and Telugu," "Kulotunga and his times," "Historical importance of the Puranas," and "The Literary value of the Bhagavadgita," respectively.

The meeting was largely attended by the members of the society as well as the public.

The papers will be published in the Society's Journal.



OUR LIST OF EXCHANGES.

(Continued from title page 3)

34. "Puratattva" Ahmedabad.
35. Sujāta (Telugu monthly) Hyderabad.
36. Reports of the Society of Science, Gottingen.
37. The Eastern Buddhist, Tokyo, Japan.
38. Shrine of Wisdom, London.
39. Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Patna.

OUR LIST OF EXCHANGES.

1. The Educational Review, Madras.
2. The Vedic Magazine, Lahore.
3. Zeitschrift Fur Indologie Halle (Saale) Germany.
4. The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
5. Viswa-Bharathi Quarterly.
6. Andhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanada.
7. Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
8. The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner (East Khandesh).
9. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10. The Mysore Economic Journal, Mysore.
11. The "Bharathi," Madras.
12. Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Benares.
13. The Maha-Bodhi, Calcutta.
14. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
15. Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute, Bombay.
16. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
17. Indian Antiquary.
18. Asia Major.
19. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
20. Epigraphica Indica.
21. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
22. Journal of the Madras Geographical Society, Madras.
23. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
24. Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
25. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Holland,

Publications from:—

26. The Indo French Historical Society, Pondichery.
27. Academic des Beaux-Arts, Institute de France, Paris.
28. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
29. The Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras.
30. The Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).
31. Assistant Archaeological Superintendant for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras.
32. Librarian, Madras University Library, Madras.
33. Kern Institute, Leiden.
33. Gesellschaft Der Wissenschaften Zu Gottingen.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL.

The Editor invites the members of the society and all scholars,
to contribute original articles to the Journal.

All communications regarding this may be addressed to:—

C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L.,

Editor:—QUARTERLY JOURNAL,

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY,

RAJAHMUNDRY.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY SHALL BE:—

- (a) To promote historical research in Andhradesa, and record the results of such research.
- (b) To organise meetings for Imparting historical knowledge to the people.
- (c) To celebrate historical occasions and hold exhibitions.
- (d) To publish a Journal of historical research, and special books if any.
- (e) To organise a Research Library at Rajahmundry.
- (f) To co-operate with other learned Societies engaged in similar works as well as with individualscholars.

For the purpose of achieving the objects, the work of the Society shall be divided into five sections respectively dealing with:—

- 1. History.
- 2. Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics.
- 3. Anthropology, Ethnology and Folklore.
- 4. Philology and Literature.
- 5. Ancient and Mediaeval Geography.

RULE:—(10) Rates of subscription.

For ordinary Members Membership of the Society.

Local Rs. 4

Mofussil Rs. 3

RULE:—(14) All members are entitled to

- (1) A copy of the Journal of the society quarterly free of cost.
- (2) To make use of the Library.

RAJARAJA NARENDRA PATTABHISHEKA SANCHIKA

(TELUGU)

Published by the Society to commemorate the celebration of the Ninth Centenary Day of King Rajaraja Narendra's Coronation.

Contains Exhaustive and Original Contributions by almost all the renowned scholars of South India, bearing on the Political, Social, Religious and Economic Conditions of the EASTERN CHALUKYAN Period of Andhra History A. D. 609-1258.

Only a Few Copies are available. Price Rs. FIVE net.

For copies } Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
Apply to }

Printed by A. Lakshmanaswamy Naidu, at the
Saraswathi Power Press, Rajahmundry.

